Hen: Du: Val

THE MIRROVR OF POLICIE.

A Worke nolesse profitable than necessarie, for all Magistrates, and Gouernours of Estates and Commonweales.

Jo: Hirbring.

LONDON,
Printed by Adam Fslip.
1598.

Anthony Walkley his Book

The Printer to the Reader.

This book was Giuen me by mr Walkley

GOod Reader, I doe present thee my loue by another mans worke: entreating thy esteeme of the one, as of my sincere affection; and of the other, as of a very sufficient pawne to giue thee security that I meane good wil. The discourse (I doubt not) will giue full satisfaction to expectations contentment, being of it selfe worthy of all ingenious wits esteeme, furnished with graue policie, approued with probable argument, varying necessary and profitable assertions, and ending sound plausible conclusions. My good will, charge, and paines, haue all united in one consent to yeeld thee contentment, delight, & profit. The recompence that I craue of thee shall not

be ouerchargeable, further then voluntary kindneſſe will freely vouchſafe to extend; leſſe than which, of good natures I preſume not to gaine, becauſe an affable and courteous inclination cannot be ſeparated from itſelfe. My words and commendations cannot equall this work in the due praiſe of the ſubiect and ſubſtance, neither wil I go about to perſuade them that haue eies and perfect ſight, to beleeue that light is a moſt high eſteemed obiect: Only I craue that all right cenſuring iudgements doe retaine their owne vertues, and neither derogate from the worthineſſe of the one, nor the intire willingneſſe of the other, and ſo I recommend thee to a fauourable cenſure of both, wiſhing thee the attaining of thy beſt wiſhes.

Antho: Wallop

The Mirrour of Policie.

What Policie is, and how many sorts of Politicke gouernment there are.

POlicie is deriued from the Greeke woord πολιτεία, which in our tongue we may tearme Ciuilitie: and that which the Grecians did name Politicke gouernement, the Latines called, the Gouernment of a Commonweale, or Ciuile societie.

All Cities and ciuile societies are ordained to attaine vnto some good, for all they that enter into league and confederation of societies, they doe it to purchase vnto themselues that good which seemeth vnto them to bee either profitable, pleasant, or honest. Here-hence fol-

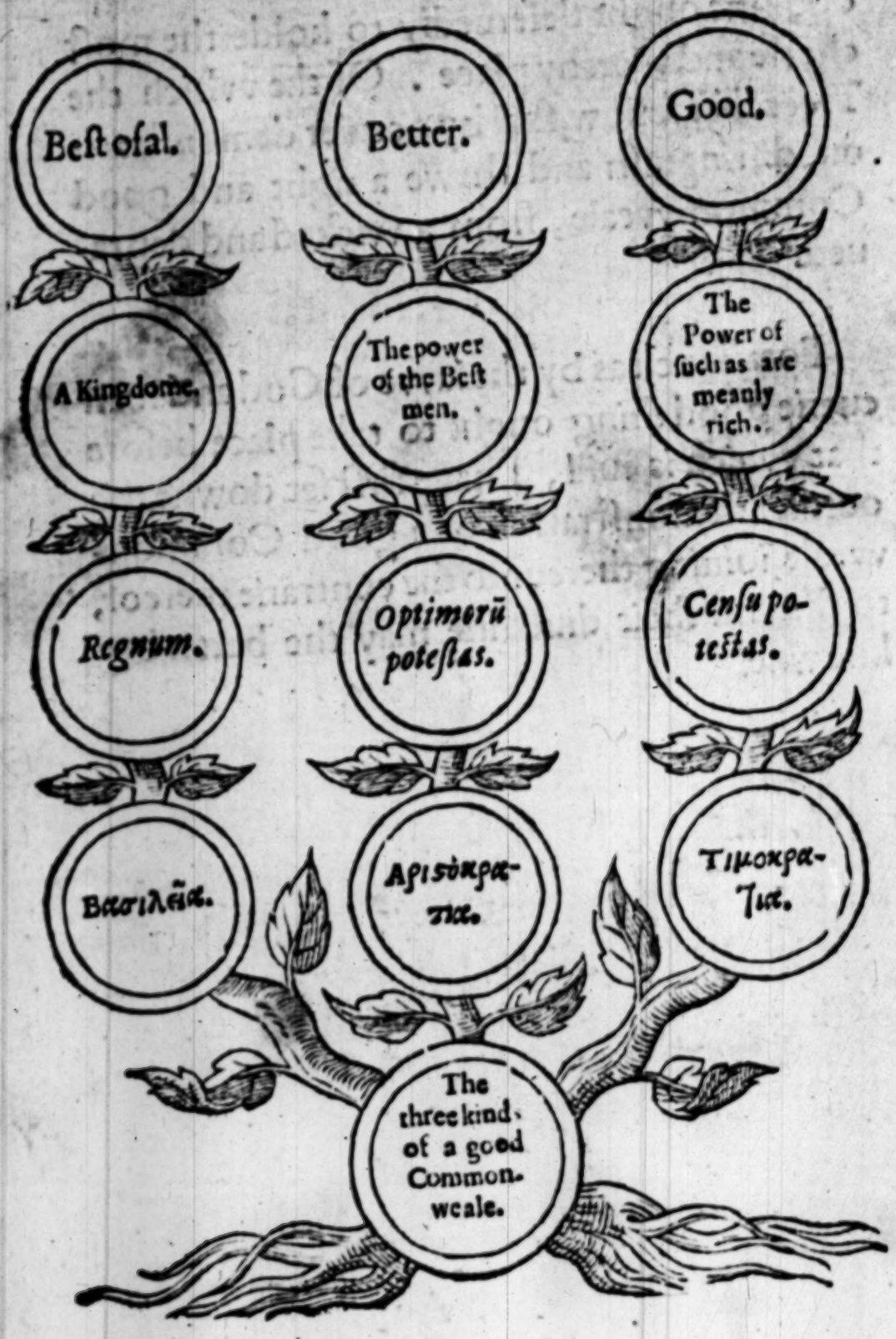
loweth this neceſſay concluſion, that all Cities and ciuil ſocieties are ordained for ſome good: and there is no ſocietie but doth deeme, that in their aſſembling together, they may attain vnto ſome good. Now if euerie ſocietie aimeth at that vvhich is good, ſurely the beſt and greateſt ſocietie pretendeth to attaine vnto the beſt and greateſt good. Foraſmuch then as a Cittie (vvhich is the vnity of the citizens) is the moſt perfect ſocietie of all others, becauſe it includeth in it ſelfe, and containeth in the parts therof all other ſocieties, it followeth conſequently that a Cittie amongſt all other ſocieties pretendeth to attaine to the greateſt and cheefeſt good.

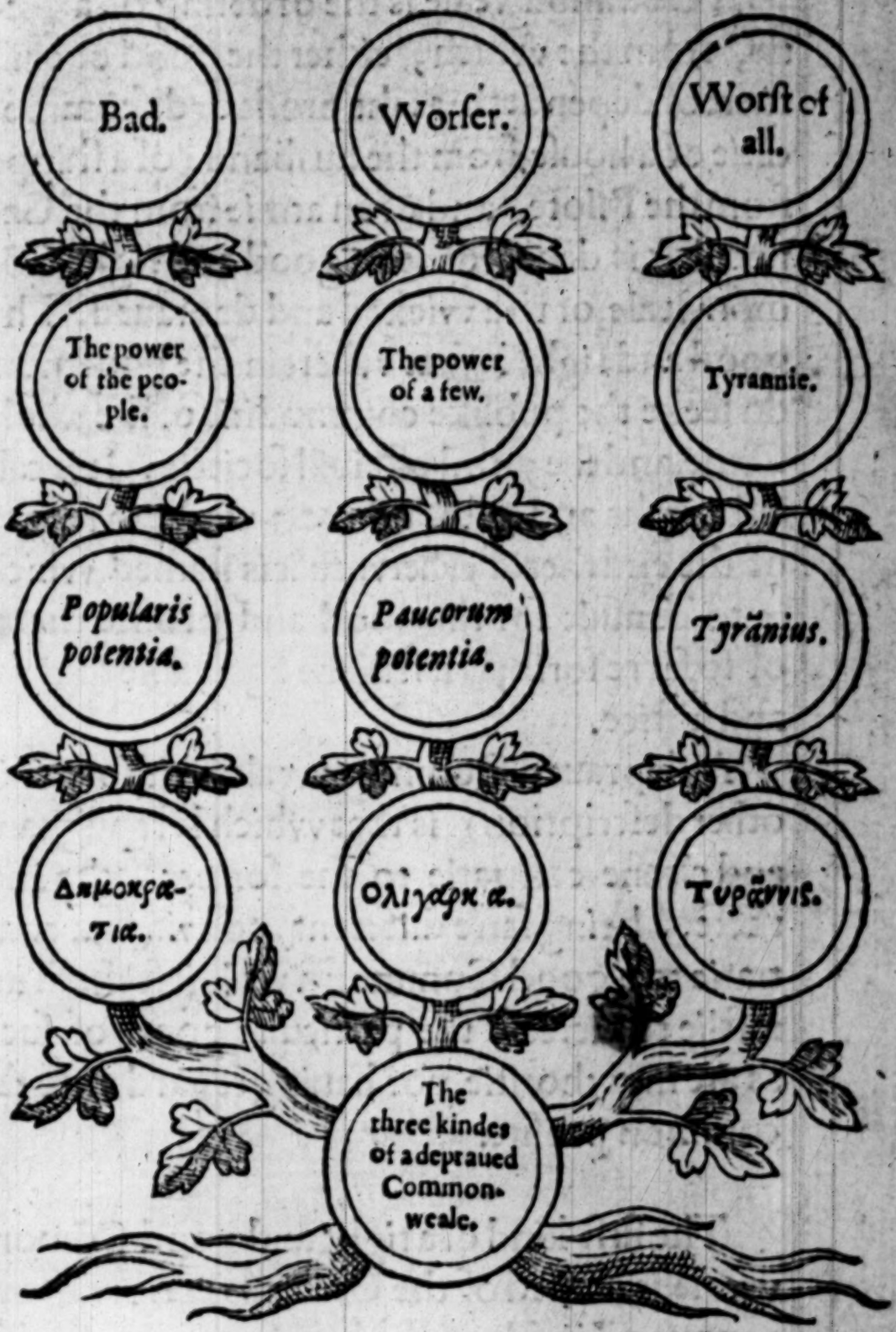
Moreouer, in as much as that vvhich is a common and vniuerſall benefite to all men, ought to bee helde of more account then that vvhich extendeth it ſelfe but to the good of ſome priuate perſons; It followeth, that to diſpoſe a Cittie by good politicke order, dooth merite more then to rule a houſe after the beſt Oeconomicall gouernement: for the good order in houſekeeping profiteth only the maſter of the houſhould, or his particular family, but the politicke ordering of a Cittie is auaileable to all: ſo that it may be cõcluded, that amongſt all the precepts of Morall Philoſophie, politick

doctrine

doctrine ought deseruedly to holde the most cheefe and vvorthy place. Of the vvhich the Trees that follow, shal by occuler demonstration, distinguish and shewe a right and good Common-vveale, from a vvicked and depraued.

Forasmuch as by the lavve of God and man euerie good thing ought to take place before that vvhich is euill, I haue first set downe the occuler demonstration of a good Common-vveale, ioining thereunto the contrarie thereof, to the end their diuersitie may the better bee knowne.


Best of al.
Better.
Good.
A Kingdome.
The power of the Best men.
The Power of such as are meanly rich.
Regnum.
Optimorũ potestas.
Censu potestas.
Βασιλεῖα.
Αριστοκρατια.
Τιμοκρατια.
The three kinds of a good Common-weale.


Bad.
Worser.
Worst of all.
The power of the people.
The power of a few.
Tyrannie.
Popularis potentia.
Paucorum potentia.
Tyrãnius.
Δημοκρατια.
Ολιγαρχια.
Τυραννις.
The three kindes of a depraued Common-weale.

A Commonweale is the ordering of a Cittie, from the vvhich, either the good or euill thereof dependeth: as the profit or discommoditie of a house, from the husband, of a shippe from the Pilote, and of an armie from the Generall. It is deuided into a good and right Cõmonweale, or to a vvicked and depraued. The good and right is that vvherein the gouernors do seeke the publike commoditie of the whole Cittie, and the good of ciuill societie. It is called a right and iust Common-weale, in regard of the end therof vvhervnto it is framed, vvhich is to consult for the good and profite thereof so farre forth, as it shall be agreeable to right and iustice.

A depraued Commonvveale (vvithout anie other description) is that vvhich is repugnant and cleane contrarie to the former, the end thereof being farre different, to vvit, that contrarie to a good Common-vveale it seeketh iniustlie to increase the particular good of such as are in authoritie, not hauing regard vnto the common profite.

The first kind of a right and good Cõmonvveale, is named of the Grecians βασιλεια, in our tongue a Kingdome, or kingly power. In this kind of Commonvveale, the King or Monarch

onely

onely hath preheminence, vvho directeth all his thoughts for the common good, preferring alwaies the publike profite before his own priuat commodity. Aristotle in the eleuenth chapter of his third booke of Politickes, disputing of this matter, maketh a comparison of the gouernment of a particular house, vnto a kingdome or Cittie: For like as in the house of a good husband, set in good order, there is but one head and maister, vvhom vve call the father of the houshold, So in this kind of Commonvveale, the king is as a father of a familie in his kingdome or Cittie, and ought to rule ouer his subiects and Cittizens vvith such loue & care, as a father ouer his children, othervvise hee loseth the precious and royall name of king, and in stead thereof purchaseth to himselfe the title of a Tyrant, vvhich is odious both to God and man. Of this vvord Tyrant, tyrannie is deriued, vvhich is the first kind of a depraued Commō-vveale, as vve vvill shewe in the demonstration following. *Agasicles* king of the Lacedemonians, being asked howe a king might raigne safely and vvithout danger of his person, not hauing need of any guard or armed men about him for the securitie of his bodie, made this vvise answere, If a Prince or soueraigne (quoth he) vvill raigne ouer his subiects as the father of

a familie doth ouer his children, hee ſhall need no guard: for the father vſeth his children with more clemencie than ſeueritie: The like whereof euery good king ought to practiſe towards his ſubiects, if he deſire to winne their loue and fauour.

The Philoſopher *Chilon*, was wont to ſay, That euerie ruler ought to be meeke and gentle, and labour that his ſubiects do rather loue than feare him. *Cicero* affirmeth, that a good king is neceſſarily beloued of his ſubiects, and hath no need of any other weapons for his defence, than their good will & friendſhip, which is more auaileable and of more force, than to be guarded by armed men. *Seneca* the Stoicke Philoſopher, in his book of Clemencie, which he writ vnto *Nero* that Romane Emperor and Monſter of mankinde; ſheweth, that a king, Prince, or Emperour, neede not build any fortreſſes, caſtles, or bulwarkes for the ſafegard of his perſon: for the vertue of Clemencie (if he haue skill to vſe it) will bee ſufficient to keepe him ſafe, into what place ſoeuer he goe, or wherſoeuer hee be. For the loue of ſubiects towards their Prince, is an inuincible fortreſſe. And that I may a little touch that queſtion which hath beene ſo often debated, Whether it be more agreeable to Nature, and more profitable to

mankind,

mankind, to liue vnder the gouernement of one alone, or vnder the authoritie of many, I will in as fewe wordes as I may, handle the matter.

Some haue held, that to liue vnder the rule of one King, or Prince, is a dangerous thing, in as much as it is a matter very difficult, here in this world, to finde one so perfect in euerie respect, as is fit and cõuenient for him that taketh that name vpon him. Moreouer, put case that it were possible, and that hee were of such perfection as were to be desired; notwithstanding, it is verie dangerous, and to be feared (considering the frailetie of man, and the great libertie that kings haue to doe what they list, whether it bee good or euill, and the great power that they haue to execute what so their will leadeth them vnto) that in succession of time they grow not worse, & of kings become Tyrants: Which is euident by many examples written by many approoued Authours, amongst vvhich I will recite some, fit and appliable to the matter I entreat of. *Nero*, the first fiue years of his Empire was so vertuous and gentle, that the Senate and people of Rome did repute themselues happy to liue vnder the gouernement of so good a Prince. But afterwards hee changed his maner of life, and fell into the deepe gulfe of vvicked-

 nesse,

neſſe, ſo that he vvas named (as I ſaid before) the Monſter of mankind. *Caligula* in like ſort began vertuouſlie, and ended viciouſlie, as *Tiberius* did, by the report of *Tranquillus*, & others. Now they that liue vnder the gouernement of manie, it is not likely, that all of them ſhould proue wicked, or if ſome one of them do, thoſe vvhich are good, vvould curbe and bridle him: As the Ephori did the kings of Lacedemonia. Such are the concluſions of thoſe, that holde this opinion, that it is not ſo dangerous to liue vnder the rule of many, as of one alone: who may more eaſily change his nature, being a Monarch or only Lord, commanding ouer others, then many vvould doe in an Ariſtocraticall gouernement, when as manie are choſen together to be as Lords and Gouernours ouer other, to rule the Commonweale as the Areopagites in Athens, the Ephorie in Lacedemonia, the Senate at Rome. That learned man *Caſpar Contárinus* in his hiſtorie of Venice, rehearſeth a memorable hiſtory of a Duke of Venice, named *Martin Phaletrus*, vvho ſome two hundred yeares ſince, in regard of his vertues vvas choſen to be their Gouernour. But afterwards he changed his nature, in ſuch ſort, that the conſpiracie of manie Noble men of that Cittie hauing ſecret intelligẽce vvith him, he determined

to

to change his authoritie into tyrannie, vvhich greatly amaſed the whole Commonvveale, but by the foreſight of the Senate, their conſpiracie vvas diſcouered, and for his offence, he was with his confederates, condemned and beheaded. And vvhereas the Senate vvas vvont to erect & ſet vp the Images of their Dukes in order in ſome place in the Senate-houſe, it vvas decreed by the Senate, that the place vvhere the picture of the ſaied Duke ſhould haue beene ſet, ſhould remaine void, and in ſteade thereof an inſcription, declaring the enormitie of his offence hung vp, vvhich vvas of this ſubſtance:

If with theſe worthies, his deſerts had claimed,
With them in honour ſhould he haue ben placed:
They countries good, he countries ruine aimed,
By fame they liue, by ſhame he dy'de diſgraced.
None ioine with theſe but honour, praiſe, and fame,
He makes abode with baſe contempt and ſhame.

To make their ſide more ſtrong, they which ſpeake againſt Monarchie, doe further ſay, that albeit that by the conſent of vviſe men, principalitie is by them eſteemed the beſt kinde of Common-vveale: Neuertheleſſe, Experience, vvhich is the Miſtreſſe of Sciences, doth ſhewe

vs, that kings and Monarchs are depraued, and of good become wicked: As vve may learne by the example of *Saule*, king of the Hebrues, who in a ſhort time changed his manner of vertuous life. Likewiſe they affirme, it is a matter very difficult, to find a King that vvill not become a tyrant; as appeareth by the ſpeech of the High Prieſt *Samuel* vſed vnto the people of Iſrael by the expreſſe commandement of God, vvhere he reciteth the greater part of tyrannies vvhich Kings are vvoont to vſe, as may appeare in the firſt booke of Kings, the eight chapter. And vvho ſo vvould on the contrarie ſide argue, that a multitude and pluralitie is vnapt to gouerne, and that therefore Ariſtotle ſaid, That plurality of principalities is euil; I anſwere and confeſſe, that multitude of Gouernours is not fit: vvhich ought to be vnderſtood, vvhereas ſuch a multitude is not reduced vnto vnitie. For neceſſarily it behoueth, that pluralitie in gouernment be brought to vnity, as the ſtrings of a Harpe reduced to one harmony. In one hand there are many fingers, yet are they all vnited to diſcharge the office of the hand. When as the gouernment of many is vnited in one vvill, then vvithout doubt the Commonvveale ſhall flouriſh, as is manifeſt in the ſtate of Venice, vvhich hath laſted aboue theſe two hundred yeares,

firme

firme and in ſafetie, and is at this day more mightie and rich then euer it vvas: And yet neuertheleſſe, it is vpheld by three different ſorts of gouernment: For in ſome matters of ſmall moment, it is ruled by the gouernment of the people, in matters of more importance by the Senate and Magnificos, and by the principality of one, to vvit, their Duke, vvho reduceth into vnitie, as vvell the people as the Senate, and after this manner the ſaid Commonweale flouriſheth. Thoſe diuerſe kinds of gouernments being vnited together, and to ſay the truth, ſcarce is the like Common-vveale to be found, both by the report of *Caſpar Contarinus*, as alſo of *Machiuile*, vvhich may vvell be verified by the long continuance thereof: vvhich vvithout doubt, proceedeth of the agreement between the people and the Senate, vnder the Monarchie of their Duke. This temperature is the cauſe that thoſe ſeditions and partialities are not ſeene in Venice, vvhich doe daily ſpring in other Commonweales in Italy.

But to returne to our principall matter, notvvithſtanding the reaſons before alleadged, the common conſent of al Philoſophers doth hold this as reſolued, that amongſt the three kinds of a good Commonweale, Principality is the

only beſt and moſt aſſured : For therein one alone doth bear rule, vvho either doth or ought excell all others in vertue, who by his ſinguler prouidence and princely care, thinketh on nothing els, but hovv hee may profite the Commonvvealth, and vnto him all men doe yeeld obedience : Yea he is the marke, at the vvhich all his ſubiects doe aime, as the Poet *Claudius* vvriteth to the Emperour *Theodoſius*. In the other two kinds of Commonweale, many doe together hold the principalitie, many haue the vvhole managing of the Commonweale. In nature, one is before two, and Plurality is but a multiplication of vnities. Therefore one only Prince and Soueraigne ought to be preferred before the gouernment of many: vvhere manie do gouerne, thete are many vices, murmurings, diſſentions, treaſons, priuy hatred, and hidden enmitie, vvhich cannot be vvhē the ſoueraignty belongeth vnto one only. Moreouer, the principality of one is more conformable and agreeing vnto the diuine and higheſt Monarchy of God (vvho ruleth ouer all things) than the cōmandement of many. It is God (as the Apoſtle ſaith) vvho is king of Kings, and Lord of lords, vvhoſe power ſtretcheth ouer all things both celeſtiall, terreſtiall, and infernal, ruling and gouerning them by his diuine prouidence. We

may

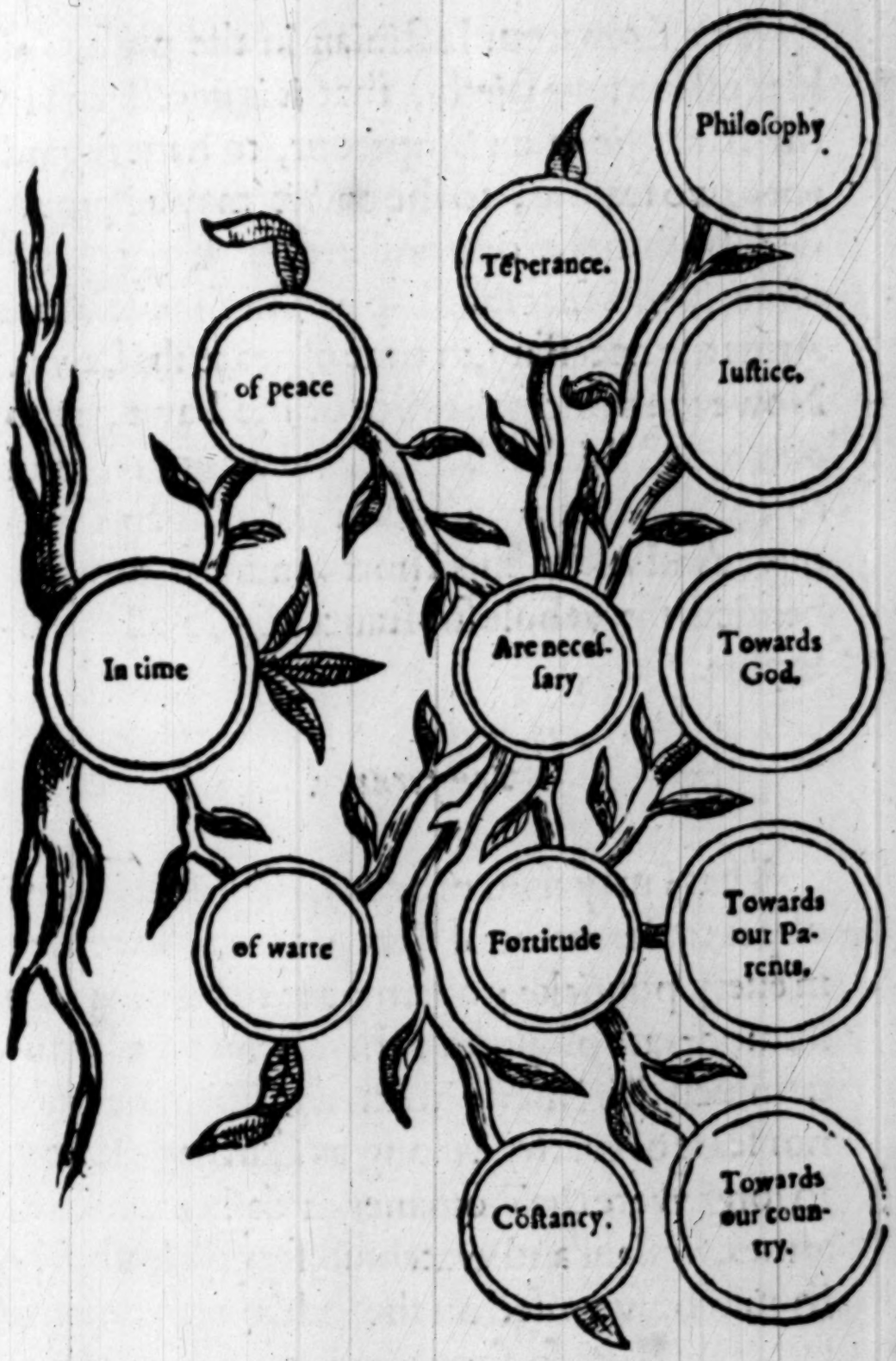
may then conclude by that vvhich is alreadie ſaid, that the ſoueraignty of one alone is better, more aſſured, and more durable than the gouernment of many. But yet that I may proceed further, vve ſee that Nature, or rather God himſelfe, hath after a ſort expreſſed this royall kind of gouernmēt, as wel in things ſenſible (though not partakers of reaſon) as in things vvithout life: The Bees being gouerned and pricked forward by an inſtinct of Nature, haue one only king, vnder vvhoſe authority they go to vvarre, diſpoſe of their affaires, and liue in ſociety togither, acknowledging one king as their only Generall and Gouernour, as vve may read in *Varo, Virgil, Collumella, Palladius, Conſtantine, Cæſar*, and other Authours vvho haue vvritten of Husbandry: what ſhall I ſay more, if we look vp vnto the heauens, do not vve ſee one Sunne beare rule and principality ouer the reſt of the ſtarres? do not we ſee that vnity is the beginning of number, and that after we haue made a long reckoning, and caſt vp our account, vve returne to one totall ſumme? What might this ſignifie, that amongſt all things created, vve ſhal alwaies find ſome one to haue preheminence aboue the reſt of the ſame kind; as amongſt reaſonable creatures man, amongſt beaſts the Lyon, amongſt birds the Eagle, amongſt graines

of

of corne, Wheat; of drinkes, Wine; of Aromaticall things, Balme; amongst mettals, Gold; amongst the elements, the fire. These naturall demonstrations doe teach vs, that amongst all the kinds of Commonweales, Principality and Roial gouernement is the best.

The second kind of a right and good Common-weale, is called in Greeke Ἀριστοκρατία, the power of the most good men: and this kind taketh place when a few men that are vertuous and approued for their wisdome and integrity, do gouerne the Commonweale: bending all their thoughts for the common profit, & preferring it before their priuate commodity. In Latine they are called *Optimates*, in as much as they are esteemed to be amongst others, the best and most vertuous. This kind of Commonweale next vnto Principalitie, is the best: which as is said, hath the preheminence aboue all others.

Now in these two kinds of Commonweale, we are to consider that


Philosophy
Téperance.
Iustice.
of peace
In time
Are necessary
Towards God.
of warre
Fortitude
Towards our Parents.
Cõstancy.
Towards our country.

The Emperour Iuſtinian in the preface of his Inſtitutions ſaieth, that it is neceſſary for the Maieſtie of an Emperour, to haue regard vnto two ſeaſons, to the end it may be prouided, both in the one and in the other, againſt all accidents that may happen. In time of warre Arms are neceſſary, in time of peace the Lawes: Nowe the principall office of the Lawe, is to command thinges honeſt and vertuous, and to forbid that vvhich is diſhoneſt and vicious. And vnder this ſhort ſumme is comprehended the vvhole ſubſtance of Morall Philoſophie.

Temperance.

That I may then proceed, I ſay, that in time of peace, the vertue of Temperance is neceſſary in euery politicke gouernment, to refraine ſuch immoderate pleaſures vvherein vvee are but ouermuch delighted, when we haue no doubt nor feare of vvarre. As long as Carthage ſtood, ſo long vvere the Romanes in daily exerciſe of armes, vigilant and vvatchfull, fearing leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed on the ſuddaine by the Affricans: But ſo ſoone as it vvas ouercome,

 brought

brought to ruine and razed by the decree of the Senate (contrary to the opinion of *Scipio Naſica*) the youth of Rome being at liberty, & freed from all care and feare of vvarre, let looſe the bridle of pleaſure, and hauing no ſtranger to exerciſe armes againſt, they conuerted them againſt their owne bowels. And that this is true; not long after the deſtruction of Carthage, there followed ciuile warres and ſeditions, as of *Scilla* againſt *Marius*, of *Cæſar* againſt *Pompey*, and ſuch like, verifying the ſaying of *Horace*, That Rome would by hir owne proper forces, runne to ruine. *Lucan* in the Pharſalian warre, complaineth, that the Romanes in their ciuile broiles turned their owne weapons into their owne entrailes, vvhereas they ſhould haue ſheathed them in the bodies of the Parthians their capital enemies. The Satyrical Poet greatly lamenteth, that long peace had done more harme vnto Rome, then the continuance of warre: For vvarre no ſooner ceaſed, but all common pleaſures entred in ſteade thereof: vvhich pleaſures ſo effeminated and withdrew their minds from warre, that the vvorld then in ſubiection to the Romanes, ſufficiently reuenged themſelues of them.

Lycurgus, that great Lawgiuer amongſt the

Lacedemonians, is highly to be commended for the vertue of Temperance, baniſhing from his Commonvveale all occaſions of gluttonie, all daintineſſe of wines, and (to ſpeak more generally) al allurements to pleaſure, in matter of diet, vvhich are vvont to make the body effeminate, as vvas proued in *Hannibal*, vvho in taking his delight in Pouilla, after the victory hee obtained at Cannas, he let ſlip the opportunity to take Rome. The ſaid *Lycurgus*, amongſt other lawes, ordained that they ſhould eat in publick view, and that eſpeciall note ſhould be taken, if any of the Cittizens vvere ouer-curious and dainty in his fare: vvhich vvas afterwards obſerued by the Romanes, after they had brought their Common-vveale into order, by the lawes called *Leges Sumptuaria*. Whileſt that the name of Pouerty vvas honoured at Rome (vvhich vvas the ſpace of 400 yeares after the foundation thereof) Pleaſure could neuer ſet foot, nor take any root there: but after that Pouertie began to be contemned and held as vile, and the offices and dignities beſtowed onely vpon rich men, Pleaſure began to poſſeſſe the hearts of the Romane youth, yea ſo farre forth, that vertue immediatly tooke flight, and being loſt, their Common-weale immediately fell to ruine.

Many

Many auncient Authors, do giue good testimony of the auncient Romane pouerty, as *Pliny*, *Plutarke*, *Valerius*, and others: but the contented poore life is rather to be attributed to the Grecians then to the Romanes, and specially to their Philosophers, as *Democritus*, *Crates*, *Zeno*, and *Diogenes Sinecus*, as we may read in *Diogenes Laertius*, in his history of the Grecian Philosophers. Amongst the Romanes, *Q. Cincinatus* deserueth to bee set in the first rancke of those that contented themselues with a poore kind of life, who possessing only foure acres of ground, & a little cottage in the country, liuing by his labour, and contenting himselfe with his vertue and pouertie, was from the plough, chosen to be Dictator. *Fabricius* did eat vvith more delight and vvith more appetite in his earthen dishes, than *Dennis* the Tyrant in his golden vessels. *Seranus* vvas a mirrour of contented pouerty, and so vvas *Attilius*: What riches did *Emilius Scaurus* possesse, the most renowmed Senatour of his time? what wealth had *Paulus*, vvho triumphed ouer *Perseus*? he was so poore in his rich dignity, that after his death, his substance was not sufficient to restore his wife her dovvry.

The daughter of *Gneius Scipio* vvas endowed vvith the publicke treasure. *Menenius Agrippa*,

and *Publicola* vvere left ſo poor, that they were buried vvithout any pompe, vvhich vvas a matter accuſtomed to be done vnto thoſe, vvho in their life had obtained the dignity of Conſulſhip. By this diſcourſe may be gathered, hovve by ſucceſsion of time the maners of men came to be corrupted, and ſo conſequently Cõmonweales, albeit that at the firſt they vvere vvell ordered, and the Cittizens vvell gouerned. Whoſoeuer vvill compare the ſparing of *Fabricius*, vvith the exceſſe and gluttony of the Emperor *Vitellus*, vvill vvonder at the corruption of maners, the one contenting himſelfe to feed on Cabbidge, and the other being not ſatisfied at one meale to haue his table furniſhed with two thouſand fiſhes, and ſeuen thouſand ſorts of foule and birds. I omit to ſpeake of the banquets and feaſts of *Lucullus*, of *Caius Caligula*, of *Heliogabalus*, and of *Marcus Antonius*, whõ I ſhould eſpecially alledge, conſidering the time he liued in vvith *Cleopatra* Queene of Ægypt, vvho according to the report of *Pliny* and of *Plutarch*, cauſed pearles of ineſtimable value to bee melted in vineger, to feede more daintily. Wherefore I may vvell ſay, that *Lycurgus* did vvith reaſon forbid all ſuperfluity of meat in his Common-vveale, and all pompe in apparell, all ſweet ſmels, perfumes, and ointments;

and

and all ſuch like enticements of pleaſure.

Iuſtice.

Iuſtice is alwaies neceſſary, but eſpecially in time of peace, to bridle men from doing euill, and to the end that a Cittie or Commonvveale be not a denne of robbers and theeues. Iuſtice may be vnderſtood, either as it is a ſpeciall and generall vertue, or for a vniuerſall perfection. As concerning the firſt, Iuſtice is a cardinall vertue, according vnto the vvhich, right is done to euery man. S. *Ambroſe* in his booke of offices ſaith: That Iuſtice is that vvhich yeeldeth to euery man that vvhich is his, not coueting that vvhich belongeth to another. Being taken in the ſecond ſence, Iuſtice is no other thing then an vniuerſall perfection of vertue, vvithout ſpot of iniquity. S. *Hierome* vvriting to *Demetrius*, ſaith: That all kinds of vertue are contained vnder the only name of Iuſtice. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Theopompus* being demaunded by vvhat meanes a king might aſſure his eſtate, anſvvered: That kingdome ſhall be ſafe and durable, and that king inuincible, if he maketh the vertuous men of his kingdome, partakers of his dignity, and that he do not beſtow the politick adminiſtration of any office to any but to ſuch as are learned and vertuous, yea to ſuch as haue

of

of long time ben trained vp in vertue: and beſides that, in as much as in him lieth, he doe defend his ſubiects from oppreſsion and vvrong.

Likewiſe *Leo* being asked in vvhat Cittie in all Greece a man might make choice of to dwel moſt ſafely therein, made this anſwere: That the Citty of moſt ſafety, vvas that vvherein Iuſtice vvas inuiolably kept, and vvhereas the vertuous vvere maintained and rewarded, and the vicious puniſhed. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaieth, That kingdomes and Common-vveales are dennes and receptacles of theeues, if Iuſtice raigneth not in them.

Philoſophie.

Philoſophie in time of peace hath her peculier exerciſe, for vvhē vve are exempt from trouble of vvar, the mind is quiet and fit for all honeſt recreation, vvhich I vnderſtand to conſiſt in the ſtudie of learning, vvhich by reaſon is to be preferred before al other kinds of buſineſſe. *Plato*, ſurnamed the Diuine, vvas vvoont to ſay, That Commonweals vvere happy, vvhen as either kings vvere Philoſophers, or Philoſophers did beare rule. And that this is true, all famous and flouriſhing Commonvveales haue drawne their Lawes from the fountaines of Philoſophie.

From

From vvhence had the Athenians their laws, but from the Philoſopher *Solon*? The Lacedemonians, but frō *Lycurgus*? the Mitilenians, but from *Pittacus*? the Crotoniales, but from *Pithagoras*? the Scythians, but from *Anacharſis*? The Romane Commonvveale, had it not Princes, Dictators, Conſuls, Senators, Tribunes, (& after the Conſulſhip) Emperours endued with al kind of learning? What Philoſophy vvas in *Iulius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Alexander Seuerus*? dooth not the vviſe man ſay in the eight of his Prouerbes, By me kings do raigne, and by me Lawmakers do decree and ordaine that vvhich is iuſt?

Fortitude.

After the declaration of the three titles containing the vertues neceſſary in time of peace, it followeth conſequently, that vve are to handle the other two that are neceſſary in time of vvarre; to vvit, Fortitude, and Conſtancy. Fortitude hath many definitions, as vvell by moral Philoſophers, as by Diuines: but that vvhich ſerueth beſt to our purpoſe, is that vvhich Saint *Thomas* ſetteth downe in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the Hebrues, vvhere he ſaith that Fortitude is a vertue vvhich tempereth and reduceth feare and audaciouſ-

neſſe to mediocritie, and that for the benefit of the Commonvveale. Fortitude is a ſtaiedneſſe and conſtancie of heart to ſuſtaine or repulſe things that are hard to beare. S. *Hieroſme* in his Commentaries vpon *Joell*, ſaith: That the part of a ſtout man is not to be aſtonied and caſt downe in aduerſity, nor to bee ouer-haughtie-minded in proſperity, but to moderate and bring both the one and the other vvithin the ſquare of mediocrity. Saint *Ambroſe* writing to *Simplicius*, ſaith: That fooliſh men are changeable like vnto the moone, but a vviſe man is not aſtonied through feare, nor altered through violence, nor caſt downe vvith ſorrow, nor proud vvith proſperity.

Fortitude exerciſeth her office, eſpecially in three things, towards God, towards our Parents, and towards our Country. As cõcerning the firſt, vvee read in the holy Scripture, that *Dauid* being as yet in the ſpring of his age, only armed vvith fiue ſtones, and a ſheepeheards ſling, vvith full confidence in God (vvho vvas his principall and cheefe ſhield and buckler) through the vertue of Fortitude, took courage to aſſaile the horrible and fearefull Giant *Goliah*, vvith his armour and club, whome hee did ouercome diſarmed, and to conclude, ſlue him.

By

By which we may consider what courage God giueth to those that trust in him.

As touching the second, which is the exercise of Fortitude towards our parents: the yong Romane Knight *Emilius Lepidus*, in the conflict which was betweene the Romanes and *Hannibal*, neare vnto Tesin, seeing his father taken and wounded, tooke such courage to succour him, that he deliuered him from the daunger, either of death or captiuity, killing him that had wounded and taken his father: for which act, as an example of Fortitude vnto posterity, an Image was in publicke place at Rome set vp for him, by the sight and consideration thereof, to draw the youth of Rome to his imitation, and to be constant and stout in the defence of their Parents.

As concerning the exercise of Fortitude towards our country, the memorable example of *Leonides* king of the Spartanes may suffice, who (as *Iustine* reporteth) being only accompanied with 400 men, in the straight of *Thermopyles*, resisted by the space of three daies an infinite multitude of *Xerxes*, the king of Persia his army, and persuaded himselfe rather to die in glory for the defence of his country, than to liue and see his people brought into seruitude and subiection.

Constancie.

Now to descend vnto the declaration of Constancie, we ought to vnderstand, that Cõstancie is a vertue to be required at al times, but principally in vvar, vvhen as the accidents that happen are more horrible then in time of peace, in regard, that lavv is not in vigour and force, according to the saying of *Marius*, affirming that the noise of armour did so trouble him, that he could not heare the lawes. Constancie therefore is a vertue, that causeth a man to persist in that vvhich is good against the difficulty of all externall lets. Constancie according to the morall Philosophers, is a firme staiednes of courage, perseuering in that which is proposed. The Lion is esteemed to haue preheminence in strength aboue all beasts, to vvhõ Nature hath so framed the necke, that it cannot bow neither to one side nor to anothet, but by constraint is alwaies carried straight and stiffe. It is vvritten of the Elephant, that it hath no ioint in his legs, so that hee cannot bow them any way. The Cipresse tree aboue all others, commeth neerest to the likenesse and forme of a piller, and besides it hath this propertie, that it boweth not vnder a burthen, but vvhen any thing is laid vpon it, it forceth the burthen vp-

wards,

wards, and groweth higher, more vpright, and ſtrong vnder the weight, as both the Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians doe report, vvho haue vvritten of the nature & vertue of plants. Theſe ſimilitudes doe aduertiſe vs to be firme & conſtant in all our aduerſities. Such conſtancy the Machabees were endued vvithall, as vvee may read in their hiſtories. Many Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians, are praiſed for this vertue: but aboue all others, the Saints and holy Martirs deſerue commendation, vvho conſtantly indured diuerſe intollerable kind of torments, yea euen death it ſelfe, for the maintaining of their faith. *Seneca* the Stoick, exhorteth vs to this vertue of Conſtancy, in his 107 Epiſtle, in theſe vvords: That vve ought not to be amaſed, nor wonder at the ſuddaine chances that do befall vs, but we ought rather to apply our minds to all aduentures that may fall out, premeditating that vve are borne to beare them, and that nothing can happen, but that beforehand it is ordained and decreed it ſhall befall. It is a thing conuenient to ſuffer that conſtantly vvhich cannot bee auoided nor ſhunned by any humane force, which wee may doe vvell, in ſubmitting our ſelues to the vvill of God, of vvhō all things doe depend. Let vs then endure patiently, and ſuffer conſtantly that which happeneth vnto

vs, in as much as vvee haue neither the power nor the skill to reſiſt it. Let vs follow our King conſtantly, and maintaine his quarrell, and not imitate the cowardly knight, vvho followed his Prince to the vvarre vveeping. Deſtinies (ſayth one) do lead thoſe that conſent, vvillingly; and draw the obſtinate by force. To make ſhort, I omit to ſpeake of the conſtancie of *Socrates*, of *Dyon*, of *Phocion*, of *Alexander* the great, and (to come vnto the Romans) of *Q Scæuola*, of *Metellus*, of *Fabius*, of *Fuluius*, of the two brethren of *Gracchi*, who ſuffered death for the law Agraria, and others, vvho through their conſtancie (in deſpight of the iniury of Time) ſhall liue for euer.

Now to returne to our firſt purpoſe follovving the declaration of our firſt tree, the third kind of a good and right Common-vveale, is that vvhich the Greekes call Τιμοκρατια, and the Latines *Cenſu poteſtas*. This kind in times paſt peculiarly obtained the name of a Common-vveale, vvhich may be vnderſtood two manner of vvaies: Firſt in that, vvherein the authority of gouerning, conſiſteth in the multitude of men of meane calling, affecting and conſeruing the eſtate of the Citie in mediocritie: I doe in this place by men of mean calling, vnderſtand ſuch as hold a meane between the rich and the poor,

the

the noble and ignoble (vvhom the French doe ordinarily and in contempt call Villaines) and ſuch as by abundance and ſuperfluity, wee cannot tearme rich; nor by vvant, poore : That is, ſuch as haue neither attained ſo high a degree to be called vvealthie, nor are of ſo baſe eſtate, to be tearmed poore. The common maxime of all morall Philoſophers is, that vertue conſiſteth in Mediocrity, & vice in Extremity: which the Poet *Horace* hath ſet downe in many places of his vvorkes. The meane eſtate of a Citty is that vvhich is placed in the middle betweene a high calling, and a baſe vocation, which is as a vertuous temperature betweene two vicious extremities. This kind of Common-vveale for the moſt part taketh place in ſmall Citties, which albeit it is not vvealthy and magnificent, yet is it ſo much more quiet, and of long continuance, vvhileſt it maintaineth it ſelfe in Mediocritie.

Secondly, this kind hath particularly obteined the name of Commonvveale, as it may generally bee giuen to all other kinds, vvhether they be good or bad, and this kind is nothing els but a temper of the power of a fewe, and a popular gouernment, vvhich two gouernmẽts are kinds of a depraued Commonvveale, as ſhal be more amplie declared in the Commen-

taries

taries of the ſecond tree. For the power of a few hath eſpecially no other reſpect but to the fauour of ſuch as are rich and mightie: and popular authoritie (on the contrarie) hath no other regard, but to the fauor of the poore: and (as we may ſee by experience) in euery Commonweal or Communaltie, there are alwaies without cõpariſon, more of the poorer ſort, than of rich men. But this kind (if it keepeth Mediocritie) hath regard as vvell to the poore, as to the rich. And in as much as Riches and Pouertie, (vvhen they are in extremitie) do bring a Commonvveale to ruin, vve muſt needs vphold Mediocritie, to the vvhich the Poet *Horace* vvould no richer, nor more noble Epitheton, than to tearme it Golden. Now, as amongſt ſharpe thorns, the ſvveet Roſe is gathered: ſo between the tvvo kinds of a depraued Commonvveale, to vvit, Oligarchie, and Democratie, this commonvveale Timocratie is founded: vvhich may bee compared to the Roſe. In ſimple and vncompounded commonvveales, vve may vnderſtand ſuch as are mixed and compounded: and in one citie or commonvveale may bee found Monarchie, Ariſtrocratie, and Timocratie; as we may ſee in the common-vveale of Venice, vvhich is framed of the three kinds of a good common-weale, which through their good coun-

counsell and prudent aduise, they doe so well mingle together, that their Common-weale flourisheth more at this day then euer it did, as *Contarinus* dooth at large declare in his Historie.

Now, in as much as we liue vnder a Monarchie and kingly gouernement, it shall not bee farre out of the way to handle this question, which hath beene long since debated by manie good Authours, to wit, Whether it bee better to elect and chuse Kings to gouerne, or whether it were more conuenient they should rule by lineall discent and Hereditarie succession?

The common Resolution is (whervnto *Aristotle* doth agree in the ninth of his Politicks) that when election is made of Kings rightly and as it ought, that is, that alwaies the best and most vertuous of the whole Communaltie bee chosen, and such a one who surpasseth all other in wisdome, surely then it were more auaileable to haue them by Election: For in such sort, none should rule as king, but such a one as were worthie, which happeneth not alwaies, when they attaine vnto the kingdome by Hereditarie succession. For commonly (yea and most often) you shall find, that if the father was vertuous and wise, the sonne (who by

lineall diſcent is to ſucceed in the kingdome) proueth vicious and vvicked. *Roboam* a fooliſh and ſenceleſſe king, void of all good counſell, ſucceeded *Salomon* a moſt wiſe Prince. *Sedechias* (the veſſell of all iniquitie) ſucceeded *Joſias* a iuſt, prudent, and good king. If vvee looke amongſt the Romans, after *Veſpaſian* a wiſe Emperour, his ſon *Domitian* raigned, a verie monſter of mankind. After *Marcus Aurelius* ſo learned and vertuous a Prince, ſucceeded his ſonne *Commodus*, the very gulfe of all wickedneſſe. *Auſonius* in his Epitaphes of the Emperors ſayth, That *Marcus Aurelius* had ben one of the moſt happie Princes of the world, if he had not begot *Commodus*, vvho by his vices, did not onely defame the ſtocke he came of, but his imperiall dignitie, and as a vvicked ſonne did vtterly deface the felicitie of his learned and vertuous father, to vvhō it ſeemed that Nature did wrong cauſing ſo bad a branch to ſpring of ſo good a tree. *Solinus* in his vvork intituled *Polihiſtor*, maketh mention, that in the Iſle Tabrobana, kings are choſen by election, not by nobilitie of blood, nor by abundance of riches, but by a generall voice of the people, they elect the moſt auncient, prudent, and experienced amongſt others, ſuch a one vvho hath no children, to the end, that all occaſion may bee taken away, to

make

make the royall dignitie Hereditarie. And if it happen, that during his reigne he engendreth any, he is depoſed from his ſoueraintie, & another choſen in his place, furniſhed with qualities requiſite for a king. Now albeit that manie approoued Authours haue held this opinion, that it is better to make kings by election, then by Hereditarie ſucceſsion : notwithſtanding, the vvickedneſſe of men, and inſatiable couetouſneſſe to bear rule, haue ſhewed by euident effects, that it is more aſſured & quiet to commit the ſouereintie vnto ſuch to vvhom it doth belong by Hereditarie ſucceſsion, then to create them by election. For kings being aduaunced by election, all is full of ciuill diſſention, and many times the electors agree not well together, in as much as many doe ſeeke to bee kings either by right or vvrong, each one making vvhat parts hee can for himſelfe, ſo that moſt often the matter is determined by fire and ſword. So great is the ambition of many vvhen they ſtriue togither for a kingdome. Did not *Iulius Cæſar* ſay, that he had rather bee the principall perſon in a countrey Towne, then the ſecond man in Rome ? Theſe troubles and accidents happen not vvhen the ſonne of a king ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome, for then all other are excluded from the hope to beare

rule, knowing that the ſonne muſt ſucceed his father in the Crowne, and that the ſoueraignty is due vnto him and to none other. After this manner, as the moſt aſſured courſe, the French Monarchie hath been gouerned, except ſome few examples to the contrarie, as may be ſeene by the Chronicles of Fraunce. And albeit that the Empire of the Weſt, from the time of *Otho* the third of that name, vntill this preſent, is giuen by election, and not by ſucceſsion, as is manifeſt to al men: notwithſtanding, many times ſuch iarres haue happened betweene the Electors of the Empire, that the end of it hath been taking of Armes, wherof hath followed partaking, factions, warres, and to conclude, the deſtruction of the Commonweale of Chriſtendome: as you may read in ſuch approoued Authors as haue writtē therof, as amongſt others, the Abbot of Sperges, and after him *Naucler*, who haue diſcourſed more copiouſly of the Hyſtory of the Germanes than any others.

Euen in our age it is reported, but whether it be true or no I wil not averre, that the Emperour *Charles* the fift ſeeketh by all meanes poſsible to vnite the Empire vnto the houſe of *Auſtrich*, and to make it Hereditarie to that houſe, and not by election, as it hath ben ſince the time of *Otho* the third: but I cannot bee perſuaded

that

that it is ſo, neither is it likely, that the Pope, contrary to the determination of his predeceſſors, and the Princes Electors of the Empire, vvould barre themſelues of ſo princely & great a priuiledge, as to make choice of the Emperour: vvhich vvas giuen vnto them by *Gregory* the fift, in the yeare 994, to gratifie *Otho* the third. But I vvill not ſtay long to diſcourſe on this matter, following the exhortation of *Cicero*, vvho doth admoniſh vs to ſpeake little and modeſtly of the gods and of Princes, eſpecially vvhen they are aliue. For as *Ouid* ſaith, Kings and Princes haue long armes and long hands, meaning that it is a dangerous matter to moue them to anger, in as much as their power ſtretcheth farre. And in this place vvill I end my declaration of the tree of a right and good Commonvveale, and ſo conſequently goe forward vvith the Commentaries of an vniuſt and depraued gouernment.

NOw a depraued Commonvveale is deuided into three kinds, Diametrally contrarie vnto the three former kindes of a good and right Commonvveale.

In the firſt title is placed Tyrannicall power, in the ſecond, the power of a Few, in the third, the power of the People. For theſe three kinds

are taken according vnto the same differences of the three sorts first spoken of, vvhich in the first title treateth of the gouernement of one alone; in the second of some, and those, few in number; in the third, of manie, gouerning rightly.

As concerning the first title, wee ought to know, that Tyrannicall power is put into the hands of one alone, vvho beareth rule, or rather as I may say, tyrannizeth according to his disordinate will, not obseruing the laws or precepts of Iustice. The contrarie vnto this, is the good King or Prince, vvho gouerneth and ruleth his people, not according to his sensuall appetite and vvill, but by ripenesse of counsell, obseruation of lawes, and right of iustice. And like as of all the sorts of a good and wel gouerned Commonvveale, Principalitie is the best: so likewise of all gouernements of a depraued Commonvveale, Tyrannie is the vvorst. Many good and approued Authors, as vvel amongst the Grecians, as the Romanes, haue vvritten of this monstrous beast Tyranny, hateful to God and to good men, but amongst the rest of the Grecians, *Zenophon*, a Philosopher of *Platoes* sect, hath written most learnedly, and most eloquently, vvho for the svveetenesse of his stile, was in times past called the Muse of Athens.

Amongst

Amongst the Romanes *Calligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, ruled tyrannically, with some other Emperours, as I may say Romane Tyrants, vvhose horrible cruelties and execrable crimes are recited by many good Authours, & namely by *Tranquillus* in the liues of the twelue *Cæsars*, by *Sextus Aurelius*, *Eutropius* & *Orosius*: and amongst moderne vvriters, by *Raphaell Volateranus* in his Commentaries: *Sabellius* in his *Rapsodias*: *Naucler* in his Cronographie: and others. *Dennis* of Syracusa, *Phalaris*, and such other Tyrants haue been defamed, and so shall remaine to all posteritie as men hatefull to God and to the vvorld, yea euen to their owne subiects, vvhom they haue reason to feare, because they keep them in fear without reason. It must needs follow, that hee vvhich is feared of many, is hated of many, and to be assured of himselfe, he is constrained to be alvvaies in the midst of armed men, although their guard doth little auaile him, their life alwaies hanging (as it vvere) by a thred: as by a most memorable example, *Dennis* whom before vvee spoke of, shewed to *Democles*, vvhen he caused a naked sword to be placed ouer his head as he was at meat, hanging only with one slender haire of a horse taile, as *Cicero* reciteth very eloquently in the last of his *Tusculane* questions. Tyrants, as the Satyri-

call

call Poet saith, goe neuer to *Pluto* with a drie death, that is, vvithout bloud and murder: for commonly, as vvee see by experience, they are cruelly slaine. I should be ouerlong to recite the examples of such Tyrants as haue ben murthered. Whosoeuer listeth to read the Declamation of *Lucian* the Greek Orator, vpon the death of Tyrants, shall haue matter to recreate his mind vvithall. Let it then suffice, that I shut vp this discourse of Tyranny, vvith those vvords that Diuine *Plato* vsed vnto *Dennis*, vvho I haue so often spoken of, vvhen hee saw him guarded vvith so many armed Souldiors, least he should be slain: Wherfore (quoth *Plato*) hast thou committed so many hainous offences, to be thus imprisoned vvith a band of Souldiors? The best and most assured defence of Princes, is the loue of their subiects. *Apollonius* sayth: That the gold vvhich is taken by Tyranny from a Prince his subiects, is more base then Iron, in as much as it is wet vvith their teares. *Artaxerxes* vvas of this opinion, that it rather beseemed the Maiesty of a King, to giue, than to take; to cloath, than to leaue naked: for, to catch and wrest from men is the proper office of theeues, and not of Kings and Princes, if they vvill not belye their name, as vve may read in *Zenophon* his institution of *Cirus*. A good Prince ought

to

to be towards his people, not as a maister towards his seruants, or as a Conquerour towards the vanquished, but as a louing father towards his children, and as a good tutor ouer his pupils. And this may suffice for the declaration of this first title.

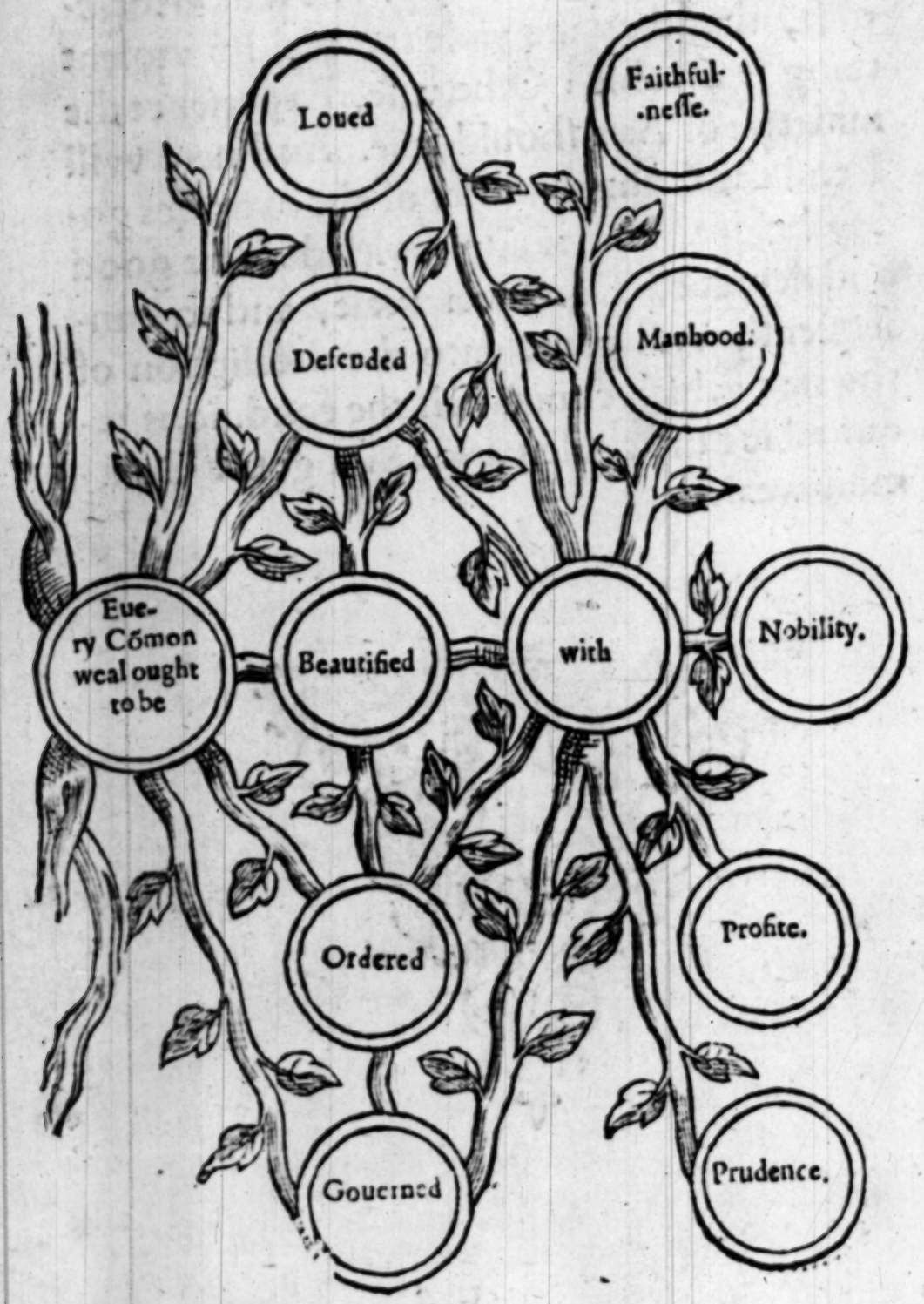
The second title conteineth the second kind of a depraued Commonweale, vvherein a fewe haue the authority and gouernment. This maner of Commonvveale taketh place, vvhen as a few rich men, or of the Nobility, doe occupie the politicke gouernement, bending all their endeauours, and aiming at their owne priuate gaine and commodity, hauing no care of the common profit. These are vvoont to take part vvith their equals in Nobility and riches, fauoring them alwaies, and pressing downe & contemning the poore & baser sort. And this kind of gouernement is directly contrarie to the Commonweale of the best men, called by the Grecians Aristocratie, vvhich is of some of the best and most vertuous men, of vvhom choice is made, vvhereof vve haue alreadie disputed. In both kinds of gouernement few haue authority, the only difference is this, that in that Commonweale vvhere *Optimati* doe beare rule, it is gouerned by iustice, and they seeke the common profite. In the other they gouerne accor-

ding to their owne affections, hauing only regard to their owne abilitie and riches, and for the aduancement of their equals and fauorites. This kind of gouernement is not so much to be reprehended, nor so bad as the other going before, vvhich vvee named Tyrannie, and yet vvorse then the power of the People, which followeth next after. And this is put betweene the extreames, as the authoritie *Optimorum* is in the tree going before.

The last kind of a depraued Commonweale is a Popular gouernement, that is, vvherein mechanicall Handicraftsmen, and men of the baser sort beare rule, not seeking the publicke profite, but either their owne priuate, or their equals. They to vvhō this gouernment is committed, are called Plebeians, vvho doe alwaies persecute such as are rich, and of noble discent, fauouring alwaies the vulgar base sort, as they themselues are. This sort of gouernment is directly contrary to the last described in the former tree, vvhich vve call *Censu potestas*. This is not so bad as the rest wee haue spoken off before, as the power of men meanely rich is of least value and vvorth in the formost tree. All these kinds of politicke gouernment haue ben seene in many Citties, but in so much as they are depraued, they haue not lasted long, but

are

are come to ruin and decay. The reaſon thereof is, that they are violent, and no violent thing is durable: Otherwiſe, Experience the miſtreſſe of Arts ſhould faile. And here vvill I end the Commentaries of the two trees going before, containing the kindes of a good and depraued Common-weale, and ſo conſequently vvill come vnto the deſcription of the tree vvhich containeth the conditions required for the conſeruation of a good Common-weale.


Loued
Faithful-
neſſe.
Deſcnded
Manhood.
Eue-
ry Cõmon
weal ought
to be
Beautified
with
Nobility.
Ordered
Profite.
Gouerned
Prudence.

In this tree you may ſee as in a glaſſe all the conditions required for the conſeruation and entertainement of a good Common-vveale, vvithout the vvhich, ciuill ſociety cannot continue: in a fewe titles I haue in a breefe manner ſhortly declared that vvhich hath been largely diſcourſed of by many vvorthie Authors, as wel Grecians as Romanes. And though the ſtile be not ſo pleaſing, yet it may bee the methode is ſuch as the like hath not hererofore been inuented.

Loued.

Euery Common-weale commeth to ruine, if the Cittizens through friendſhip are not vnited together, for if they bee factious and ſchiſmaticke, they are ſoone brought to decay. And concerning this matter, vve cannot alleadge an Authour and example of greater authoritie, then Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, vvho in his Goſpell doth affirme, That euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe commeth to Ruine. Concord as *Saluſt* ſayth, maketh ſmall things great; and contrarily, diſcord maketh ſtrong things vveake: The vviſe man ſayth, that Concord nouriſheth loue. Wild beaſts, as *Caſsidorus* that learned Senator of Rome dooth affirme, doe loue the vvoods and forreſts, Foules the aire, Fiſhes the ſea and

the riuers, and men the place of their birth: to conclude, both men and beasts doe loue the soile vvhere they desire to liue long. Who so (saith Aristotle in his third booke of politicks) loueth his owne profit more then the common good, he loseth the name of a good Cittizen, and purchaseth to himselfe the title of a bad & vvicked person. What shall vve say more, vve wil conclude this title vvith the saying of *Plato*, recited by *Cicero*: We are not only borne for our selues, for a part of the Commonvveale belongeth to euery Cittizen, of vvhat estate or degree soeuer, but more properly and especially vnto Noblemen, vvho haue the gouernment & managing of Armes, and vvho from their cradle euen to their graue, either are, or ought to bee trained vp in the practise of them: as vve may read in *Vigetius* and *Robertus Valturianus* in their vvorkes of Martiall discipline, vvhich vve vvill speake of more largely hereafter.

Defended.

Riches and prosperity in a Commonweale, doth stirre vp the neighbours to assaile them, to robbe and spoile them, vvhich they may easily do, if it be not stoutly defended by the subiects: vvho defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe

himſelfe and his owne company: And vvho ſo refuſeth to die for the defence of the Commō-weale, he dieth togither vvith the ruine thereof: In as much as the Commonvveale being ouerthrowne, the Cittizens muſt needes come to ruine. Wherefore we ought not to fear any danger for the ſafegard of our country, for it is better to periſh for many, than vvith many. *Horace* following *Periander* ſayth: It is a vvorthie and honeſt thing to die for ones countrey. *Iuſtinian* the Emperor vvas vvont to ſay, that they that vvere ſlaine for the defence of the Cōmonvveale, doe euer liue through fame. *Ouid* cannot find out the cauſe vvhence it ſhould proceede that vve beare ſuch loue and extraordinary affection to the place of our birth, vvhich is ſo vehemently imprinted in our hearts, that vvee can neuer forget it. To make ſhort, I forbeare to ſpeake of the feruent affection vvhich *Codrus* king of the Athenians did beare his country, who by his death bought the life of his ſubiects: neither vvil I make mention of that deadly draught of Buls blood vvhich *Themiſtocles* did drinke: nor of the care that *Ariſtotle* that famous Philoſopher had of his countrey, euen at the point of death: nor of the feruent zeale of theſe Romanes *Brutus* the firſt Conſull, *Curtius*, *Decij*, *Ælius*, *Scipio Affricanus*, and diuerſe others,

others, vvhoſe renowme vvill neuer die. The defence of the country vvherein a man is born, belongeth to all ſorts of people, but eſpecially vnto Noblemen, as I vvill declare hereafter.

Beautified.

The beauty of euery Common-vveale conſiſteth in their Nobility: for commonly Noblemen are more rich, of more honeſt conuerſation, more ciuile than the vulgar, mechanical, & baſe ſort of people, in as much as from their cradle they are brought vp in al manner of vertue, and amongſt men of honour. The popular ſort are commonly euill conditioned, variable, inconſtant, ſuſpicious, hard to be ruled, and as *Virgil* ſaith, alwaies diuided into factions, & to conclude their imperfections, excluded from all good diſcretion and manners. They vvhich haue vvritten of Husbandrie, doe report, that the moſt daintie and pleaſanteſt part of milke, is the Creame; & that this it is true, Experience teacheth, for cheeſe made of milke skimd, is drie, ſower, and chapt. The Nobilitie are as it were the creame of the milke of the Common-weale, and vvho ſo taketh them away, it remaineth like bad cheeſe, drie, ill taſted, and vnſauorie. Wee vvill diſpute more hereof, vvhen vvee

come

come to intreat of Armes.

Ordered.

The Philoſopher ſaith, That vvhereas there is no order, there muſt needs be confuſion. As the good Houſholder ought to ſet his houſe in order, and the Pilot the ſhip, ſo ought a good Magiſtrate to order a Cittie and Common-weale: for the Communaltie vvhich by order is not brought to vnitie, by confuſion is deſtroied. Order is the due diſpoſing of al things: Order, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, is a certaine diſpoſition, giuing due places, as vvell to ſuch as are equall, as to ſuch as are vnequall. Saint *Paul* writing to the Corinthians, commandeth them that all things be diſpoſed by order and honeſtie. The order of the heauens, of times and ſeaſons, giue vs to vnderſtand (amongſt manie other things) the wiſdome of the Creator, who hath diſpoſed all thinges diuine, celeſtiall, and terreſtiall, by an admirable order. As in this round globe, vvee ſee the heauen holdeth the moſt high and honourable place, amongſt elements the fire, gold amongſt metrals, the head amongſt the members of the body; likewiſe in euery vvell ordered Common-weale, men of learning, noble and vertuous men, ought to be aduaunced to the moſt honorable eſtates and

offices,& to the vvorthiest dignities of a kingdome or citie: and fooliſh perſons, and men of baſe eſtate ought not to haue the adminiſtration of ſuch offices as paſſe their capacitie. Wine of his owne nature doth comfort the ſpirites, but who ſo giueth ouermuch vnto a diſeaſed perſon, he doth but increaſe his ſickneſſe, and maketh him vvorſe: In like manner, vvhen a King beſtoweth eſtates and offices on men of no merite; of bad, he maketh them vvorſe, and giueth them occaſion to doe ill, vvhereof followeth the ruine of the ſtate. The Venetians (as hath been ſaied before) to giue ſome contentment vnto mechanicall handicraftsmen, and others of baſe eſtate in their common-vveale, leaue vnto them the execution of ſome meane offices, ſortable to their degree and calling: vvhich they doe to keepe them from murmuring, taking example from the Romanes, the eſpeciall care of the Senate being, by pollirick and diſcreete meanes, to keepe the vulgar ſort from mutinie: and notwithſtanding all their policie, they did ſeldome keepe them in order, as is euident in *Titus Liuius*, *Plutarch*, and other approued Authors. In bringing this to paſſe vvhich I haue ſet downe, the citie ſhall be vvell ordered vvith profite. If we enter into the conſideration of the nature of Bees, hovv vvell

they

they are ordered in their hiues, if vve looke into the ſpinning of the ſpiders vvebbe, if vvee marke vvell the graines that are in a Pineaple, if vve note the members of a mans body, hovv vvell they are ordered, much more ought reaſon to perſuade and teach vs to range & bring the ſubiects of a good commonvveale (vvho are reaſonable creatures) into a decent order. Queene *Saba* comming to viſite *Salomon*, vvondred vvhen ſhee beheld the order of his court, and of his traine, his officers and ſeruaunts. What ſhall vvee ſay more to ſhut vp this title, vvhen *Iob* deſcribeth a land of miſerie, of calamitie, and of darkeneſſe, he ſaith for a ful curſe, That no Order remaineth therin. Wherfore, we may conclude, that a Kingdome, Commonweale, or citie, vvithout Order, may rightly be compared to hell.

Gouerned.

Gouernement preſuppoſeth Order, foraſmuch as vvithout Order, there can be no due gouernment. Gouernment, is a right diſpoſition of ſuch things as are cõmitted to the charge of any man, to bring them to a meet end; as all the morall Philoſophers and Diuines haue deſcribed it. Euery Monarch, Emperour, King, Prince, Lord, Magiſtrate, Prelate, Iudge, and

ſuch like may be called Gouernours. There is neceſſarily required in euerie Gouernour of a kingdome or commonweale, Wiſdome, Patience, and Diligence: for like as a Pilot through his folly may eaſily be cauſe of ſhipwracke, ſo euery Gouernour of a commonvveale or citie, may by his indiſcretion be the occaſion of the ouerthrow of his ſubiects. Euery Gouernour in like manner ought to be endued vvith patience, by the example euen of the King of the Bees, vvho hath no ſting, vvherein Nature doth myſtically ſhew, that Kings and Gouernours of commonweales ought to vſe greater clemency than ſeuerity, and more equitie than rigour, towards their ſubiects: *Artaxerxes* bragged of this vertue. Beſides, a Gouernour ought to bee diligent: and if a carefull Houſekeeper (vvho vvill deſerue the name of a good Husband) ought in his priuate familie to be himſelfe firſt vp, and laſt in bed, howe much more diligent ought a Gouernour of a Cittie to be, vvhere there are many houſes, & a King ouer his kingdome, vvhere there are many Citties? When the Prophet *Jonas* vvas ouercome vvith ſleepe, the Pilot rebuked him, ſhewing him that he ſhould not haue ſlept but waked, regarding the inſtant danger; and indeed he caſt him into the ſea, as being vnprofitable in his ſhippe. This

example

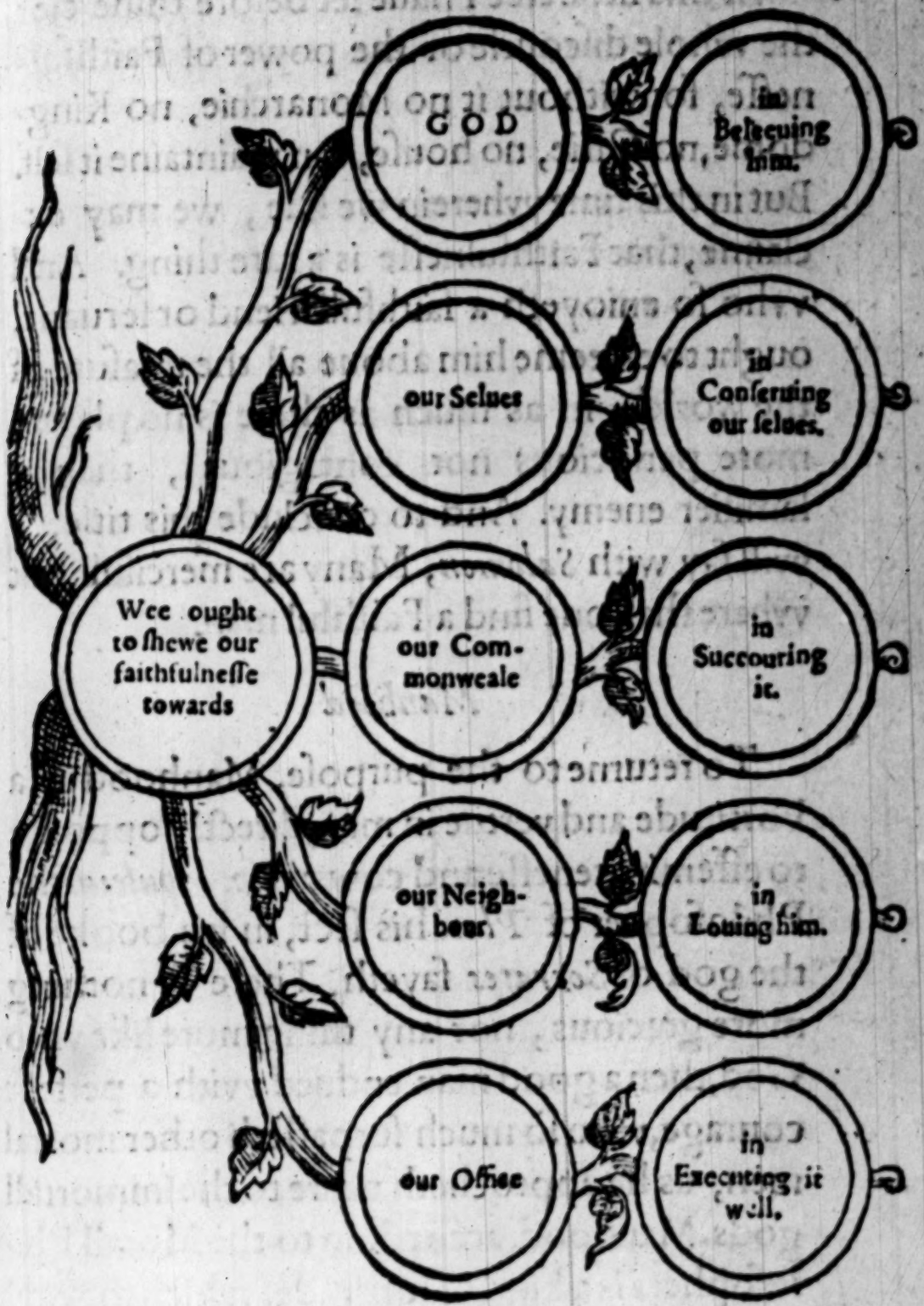
example drawne not from Heathen Authours, but from holy Scripture, doth myſtically teach vs, that negligent Magiſtrats deſerueth to be caſt out of the gouernment of the Commonvveale, and plunged in the Sea of perpetuall reproch.

Faithfulneſſe.

Faithfulneſſe is directlyoppoſite to treaſon, which neuer maketh entrance in a vertuous and honeſt mind. Faithfulneſſe, as *Seneca* ſayth, is a moſt holy treaſure, ſafely laid in mans breaſt, vvhich cannot be conſtrained by any neceſsitie, nor corrupted by any reward, to entertaine treaſon. *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond king of the Romanes, vvho firſt ordained their ceremonies, made this decree, that vvhen ſacrifice ſhould be made to the goddeſſe Faithfulneſſe, it ſhould be done vvithout the ſheading of the bloud of any beaſt, that is to ſay, vvithout ſlaughter, and that the Prieſts ſhould be apparelled in vvhite, vvhich colour did denote puritie of heart. *Plutarch* vvriteth, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſaid he loued treaſons, but hated Traitors. How neceſſary Faithfulneſſe is for the preſeruation of a Commonweale may be ſeene by this, that the firſt Temple that *Romulus* built at Rome, was the Temple of Faithfulneſſe, and

of the god *Terminus*. The miserable end of *Achitofel* that slue the valiant *Machabeus*, of *Judas Ischarioth* the false Apostle, doe euidently shew the reward of Traitors, in recompence of their treasons. What great hurt hath come into Christendome by the treason of *Andrew Merail* a knight of Rhodes, by Nation a Portingall, vvho stirred vp the great Turke *Soliman*, by his letters, to assaile and take the Isle of Rhodes, is manifest to all men. Faithfulnesse then is the vprightnesse of an vnchaungeable thought, vvhich taketh place generally amõgst friends and enemies, rich and poore, Princes & subiects, maisters and seruants. There are some especiall vertues that euery man is not capable of, but none can exempt or excuse himselfe, in not being faithfull. Nature hath bound vs all vnto this vertue: for Faithfulnesse is no other thing (as hath beene saied) but an vprightnes of thought, by the vvhich euery one is bound to recompence friendship, to keepe close the secrets cõmitted vnto thee, to accompliſh the thing promised, to remaine constant in speech, and to be short:

Wee


GOD
in Beleeuing him.
our Selues
in Conseruing our selues.
Wee ought to shewe our faithfulnesse towards
our Commonweale
in Succouring it.
our Neighbour.
in Louing him.
our Office
in Executing it well.

In this little tree I haue ſet before thine eies the vvhole diſcourſe of the power of Faithfulneſſe, for without it no Monarchie, no Kingdome, no Citie, no houſe, can maintaine it ſelf. But in this time vvherein we liue, we may exclaime, that Faithfulneſſe is a rare thing. And vvho ſo enioyeth a faithfull friend or ſeruant, ought to eſteeme him aboue all the treaſure of the world, in as much as there is no plague more pernicious nor contagious, than a familier enemy. And to conclude this title, I vvill ſay with *Salomon*, Many are merciſull, but vvhere ſhall one find a Faithful man.

Manhood.

To returne to the purpoſe, Manhood is a Fortitude and vertue in man, directly oppoſite to effeminateneſſe and cowardiſe. *Apuleius* the Philoſopher of *Plato* his ſect, in his booke of the god of *Socrates* ſayeth, There is nothing more gracious, nor any thing more like vnto God, then a good man endued vvith a perfect courage, vvho ſo much ſurpaſſeth other mortal men, as he approcheth neare to the immortall gods. Manhood, according to the Morall Philoſophers is a kind of fortitude, vvhich they cal Heroicall, concerning the vvhich, as vvell the Grecians as the Barbarians, haue left vs manie memorable

memorable examples. But especially the Romanes haue excelled and surpassed others herein, amongst whom it seemeth vnto me, *Horatius Cocles* a Romane Knight, ought to haue the preheminence, vvho seeing the extream misery and instant perill of the Common-weale, all his fellow souldiours hauing turned their backes, and trusting only to flight, he himselfe for the safegard thereof, set his body as a vvall against an infinite number of his enemies: And so he alone (accompanied vvith Manhood, as *Vlisses* vvith *Minerua*) fought so long against them, vntill he supposed the bridge was broken downe, as it was, and so he cast himselfe into the deepe Riuer, with his heauy armour; the zeale towards his countrey flying to the skies, & making him immortal: What a rare spectacle of Manhood vvas this, no lesse wonderfull to the enemies, than profitable to his friends? In our age of fresh memory, wee haue (amongst others) had a second *Horatius*, who of stoutnes of courage, and proweſse of Armes, may bee equalled to him; one Captaine *Bayard*, who shewed his value in many places, namely, when he slue a Spanish Knight *Alphonso de Sotto Mayor* in single combate, who amongst his countrimen was esteemed as a second *Hector*. He likewise in the expedition that *Charles* the eight,

king of Fraunce made to *Naples*, did alone defend a bridge against two hundred Spaniards, vntill other succour came vnto him: I let passe many other of his worthy deeds, recorded by the Historiographers of our time, because I wil not be tedious. But to returne to the Romans, what manlinesse was in *P. Decius Murena*, in the iourney and conflict against the Samnites, when as *Aulus Cornelius* a Consul of Rome, had foolishly inclosed himself in the midst of them: Did not hee recouer the victory, being vnhoped for, and turned their desperation to assured triumph? I forbeare to speake of the good zeale that *Decius* did shew vnto the Commonweale, when he bought the victory with the price of his life. What shall we say more? The miserable end of *Sardanapalus*, more effeminate then euer *Thais* was, dooth plainely shew, that vvho so contrarieth his sexe, ought to die as he did, who burning himselfe in his pallace, ended both his life and Monarchie at one time, as *Plutarch* reciteth in his second booke of the vertue and fortune of *Alexander* the great. Nature was deceiued vvhen it placed manhood in the heart of *Semiramis* being a vvoman, & cowardly effeminatenesse in the heart of *Sardanapalus* being a man: *Semiramis* (albeit she vvas but a vvoman) led forth armies, caused the drummes

to ſtrike vp, enſignes to be diſplaied, ſet battailes, built Babylon, croſſed diuerſe ſeas and countries, and finally triumphed ouer her enemies. And *Sardanapalus*, a man, a king, did wind thred, ſpinne yearne, vſed his looking glaſſe, painted his face, and vvas skilfull in nothing els but in eating, drinking, vvantonneſſe, and ſleeping, and neuer performed any manly act in all his life, but vvhen he burnt himſelf, by which act he deliuered his ſubiects from a monſtrous Hermophrodite, vvho vvas neither true man, nor true vvoman, being in ſexe a man, and in heart a woman.

Nobility.

We vvill hereafter diſpute of Nobilitie, in the title of Noblemen, and Arms.

Profite.

Marcus Tullius Cicero the Patron of Roman eloquence, did vvaile and lament, that ſome through ignorance, vvent about to ſeparate profite from honeſty, albeit that between them there is ſuch indiſſoluble marriage and good agreement, that there can be no ſeparation nor diuorce betweene them. They held this opinion, that a thing might be profitable, and not honeſt; and contrariwiſe, that a thing might be

honeſt and not profitable, than vvhich doctrin nothing could be more hurtfull to the life of man. For the whole ſchoole and ſect of Stoicks doe hold, that vvhatſoeuer is honeſt, is neceſſarily profitable: and that nothing can bee profitable, except it bee honeſt: and they that vvould make a diuiſion betweene profite and honeſtie, doe nothing elſe but peruert Nature. *Lactantius Firmian*, a Diuine, a Philoſopher, and a moſt eloquent Orator, in his Inſtitutions doth affirme, that nothing can be profitable or honeſt, except it bee good; and that nothing can bee profitable or honeſt vnleſſe it bee bad. Now if in any thing in this world vve looke for profite, vvee ought principally to conſider it in a body Politiques. Ariſtotle ſaith, That by how much a good thing is more cõmon, by ſo much it is more to be eſteemed. For if it be good and laudable to order a houſe & a ſhippe, to the profite thereof; much better it is, yea beſt of all to order a Commonvveale for the commodity thereof. The end of each good order tendeth to profit: the end of confuſion, to ruine and deſtruction. *Onias* (as it is vvritten in the Machabees) preferred the profite of his Countrey, before his owne life. *Curtius* the Romane Knight, for the commoditie of his Common-vveale, hated his life, and his

owne

owne safetie, by vvhich deed, he got immortall fame. Euery Prince that preferreth his priuate gaine before the common good, ought to tremble at the vvords of Saint *Paule* in the second to the Corinthians the eleuenth Chapter, vvhere hee sayth: I seeke not that vvhich is gainefull to my selfe, but that vvhich is profitable to manie. Saint *Hierome* affirmed, that reading *Pauls* Epistles, it seemed that hee heard clappes of thunder: vvhich holie and learned Doctour I alleadge, that it might bee apparent, that vvho so seeketh his owne commoditie more than the publicke profite, dooth not followe the holie Apostle.

Prudence.

Prudence, as *Cicero* sayth in his first book of Laws, taketh her denomination of Prouidence, as of the principall part thereof. Prouidence (according vnto *Aristotle* in the sixt of his Ethickes) is a right reason of such things as vve vndertake. Prudence is diuided into true and false. True Prudence is that vertue by the which we take counsel, we iudge & cõmand all things to be done which do appertaine & conduct the life of man vnto a good end. False Prudence is the disposition of thinges that tend to an euill

end, as if a man ſhould bend all his ſtudy to vſe the pleaſure of the fleſh, to ſteale, and to robbe, to enrich himſelfe by fraud, ſubtletie, craft, and deceit. Of this falſe Prudence the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in the eight to the Romanes, vvhen he ſaith: Wiſdome of the fleſh is death. *Ariſtotle* demaundeth, vvhat is the reaſon vvhy young men are not prudent, but commonly fooliſh, inconſiderate, and headſtrong? Wherunto the learned Philoſopher anſwereth, That Prudẽce preſuppoſeth vviſdome, vviſdome experience, experience long life, vvhich young men haue not attained vnto; for if they had liued long, they ſhould be old: which is the cauſe that yong men cannot be prudent, in that they vvant experience. This vertue of Prudence inſtructeth vs to prouide for things to come, to order things preſent, and to remember things paſt. *Xenophon* the Philoſopher in his inſtitution of King *Cyrus*, ſaith, That vve can haue no vſe of vertue, vvithout Prudence: For in the adminiſtration, as vvell of priuate as publike matters, vve cannot attaine vnto a vviſhed end vvithout the direction of Prudence. As at ſea, the Marriners follow the commandement of the Pilot, the diſeaſed of the Phiſitian, trauellers of their guide, Souldiours of their Captaine: ſo ought good ſubiects to follow the direction of their

Prince,

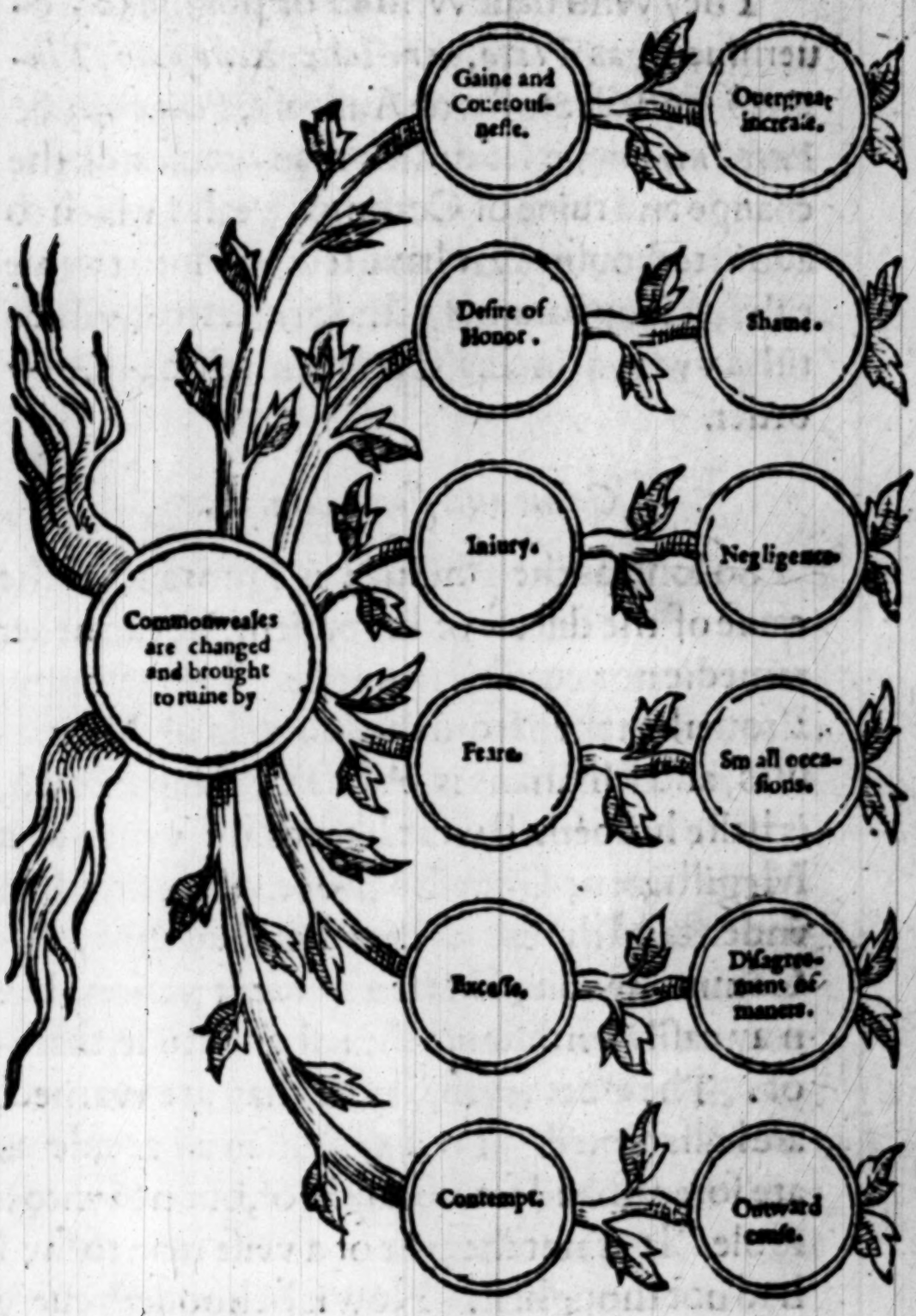
Prince, and good Cittizens of their Magistrat. And as a good Citizen is bound to obey with vvillingnesse and readinesse, so likewise ought a good Magistrate and Prince to commaund prudently. Morall Philosophers gaue three eyes vnto Prudence; Memory, Vnderstanding, and Prouidence; with the first it looketh to time past, with the second it beholdeth time present, and with the last it regardeth the time to come: by the vvhich it appeareth, that of all the vertues, Prudence hath the most eyes. Amongst the Romane Emperours, some are praised for Clemency, as *Iulius Cæsar*; others for Learning and Wisdome, as *Adrian*; some for Tẽperance, as *Marcus Aurelius*; some for Liberality, as *Titus*; others for Iustice, as *Traian*; *Augustus* for felicitie, *Antonius Pius* for goodnesse, but peculiarly and aboue the rest, *Alexander Seuerus* hath ben commended for the vertue of Prudence, which he obtained by the counsell and instruction of the learned Lawyer *Vlpian*. *Philip* of Macedon, father of *Alexander* the great, being in hostage three yeare at Thebes, learned Prudence of the wise prince *Epaminondas*, by which vertue, he got into his hands the Monarchie of all Greece, & a great part of Asia, being before only King of Macedonia. What shall we say more? Thorow the whole discourse of *Homer* his *Odisses* (where

we

we may read the fable of *Minerua*, vvho alwaies accompanied *Vlisses*) the moſt learned Poet tendeth to no other end, then to ſhew vs, that Prudence (vvhich hee figureth by *Minerua*) ought alwaies guide a man, to attaine vnto the end of his enterpriſe. *Bion* the Philoſopher ſaid that Prudence vvas amongſt other vertues as the ſight amongſt the fiue ſences. Of vvhich vertue, *Iouianus Pontanus* hath written a vvhole diſcourſe. It reſteth to conclude this title, (and ſo conſequently the ful declaration of the tree) that euery Commonweale ſhall flouriſh if it be gouerned by Prudence.

A PREFACE VPON THE Commentaries of the tree following.

WE haue before declared and ſhewed by oculer demonſtration the cauſes that make a Commonweale to flouriſh and continue long. It reſteth now to ſhew and to ſet forth vnto your view the occaſions that bring it to change, to decline, and finally to ruine: which according to the former methode is ſet forth in the tree following.


Commonweales are changed and brought to ruine by
Gaine and Couetouſneſſe.
Ouergreat increaſe.
Deſire of Honor.
Shame.
Iniury.
Negligence.
Feare.
Small occaſions.
Exceſſe.
Diſagreement of maners.
Contempt.
Outward enuie.

They vvho haue vvritten of pollitícke Gouernment, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Plutarch*; and of moderne Authors, *Pontanus*, & *Patricius*: haue ſet downe many cauſes of the change and ruine of Commonweales, which to auoid tediouſnes vve haue reduced into twelue titles, as is apparant by the former tree, vvhich titles vve vvill in this Commentarie handle by order.

Gaine and Couetouſneſſe.

So long as the Phiſitian is ignorant of the cauſe of the diſeaſe of his patient, he can neuer remedie nor cure his ſickneſſe. The common Prouerbe taken from the grounds of Naturaliſts, and Phiſitians is, A diſeaſe being known, is halfe holpen. By the like reaſon, vvhen as a Magiſtrate or Gouernour of ciuile ſociety ſhal vnderſtand the cauſes that may ouerthrow his Commonweale, if he be a prudent perſon, hee may eaſily vvithſtand the fall and ruine thereof. The Poet ſayth, Thoſe that are vvarned, are halfe armed. To a vviſe man all accidents are forecaſt and forethought of, but not vnto a foole. It is not the part of a vviſe man to ſay I had not thought it. Now it behoooueth euery Prince, King, Magiſtrate, or Politicke Gouernour to vnderſtand, that amongſt thoſe cauſes

which

which bring deſtruction and ruine vnto a cõmonweale, Gaine offereth it ſelfe firſt of all. But vvhat ſort of Gaine? Euen that, vvhen the common people, vvho of their owne nature are ſuſpicious, buſie, and inconſtant, doe perceaue that the Gouernours of a Cittie are couetous, ſeeking to make great gaine vnto themſelues, and get great wealth into their hands, which cauſeth them to impoſe vpõ the common people great exactions, Iones, ſubſidies, and other inſupportable burthens, vvhich cauſeth their patience to turne into furie, and from a priuate and ſecret grudge, they come to ſome publick and open ſedition againſt the Gouernors and Magiſtrates, not being able to indure their inſatiable couetouſneſſe: vvhence it commeth to paſſe oftentimes, that they murther them, ſacke and ſpoile their houſes by force and violence. And ſo by ſuch ſedition, the publicke peace is diſturbed, and the politicke body either changed or vtterly brought to ruin. Now, according to the ſaying of *Quintilian*, vvho herein followed *Seneca*, that a good Orator ought from precepts to come to examples, vve may enrich this place vvith manie teſtimonies, as vvell from the Grecians, Latines, as Barbarians: But to auoid tediouſneſſe, it may ſuffice to alledge ſome one out of the Chronicles of Fraunce. In the time

of king *Charles* the sixt, there happened a great mutiny of the people, altogether caused by the couetousnesse of the politicke Gouernours, especially of those which were neare about the King, who sought nothing else, then to lay newe impositions vpon the people, to make them leane, and themselues fat, to steale from others to fill their owne purses: but the people opposed themselues against them, yea the tumult was so great, that notwithstanding all the reasons alleadged by Sir *Peter de Villiers*, and Sir *John des Marets* (who were greatly in the peoples fauour) all the Farmers of the saied impositions were murthered and slaine, their goods spoiled, their euidences burned, their houses raised, and the heads of the vessels of Wine in their Sellers knocked in peeces, and the Wine let out. And one of the sayed Farmers flying to Saint *James* his Church, which standeth in the Butcherie, to saue his life, was slaine hard by the high Altar, holding the Image of our Ladie in his handes. The day wherein the slaughter was made, was called the day of Hammers, in regard of certaine leaden Hammers the people tooke in the Towne-house, with the which they committed their slaughter.

ter. In the time of *Lewis* the ninth, called Saint *Lewis*, the common people of fiue Townes or Countries of Germanie, vvhich vvee nowe call Svvitzers, did mutinie in ſo great number, and raiſe ſuch ſedition, that they did ſlay all the Princes, Lordes, Barrons, Knights, and to bee ſhort, all they that had anie title of honour or gentrie in that Countrey: vvhich vvas done, in regard that the ſayed Princes and Nobilitie did oppreſſe them vvith greeuous and vniuſt exactions. And the better to aſſure their libertie, they made an alliance and confederation amongſt themſelues, vvhich they called Brotherhood, and at this day they terme The ancient leagues of the high Almaignes. And in this ſort the eſtate of their Common-vveale vvas chaunged, through the Tyrannie of their Princes, ſo that euen till this preſent, they liue in libertie. Moreouer, it appeareth by the example of *Iobel* and *Abia* the ſonnes of *Samuel*, that Common-vveales are altered through the couetouſneſſe of Magiſtrates: For they being Iudges ouer all the people of Iſraell, their couetouſneſſe, exaction, and taxes vpon the people, vvas the cauſe that the Politicke

gouernment of the Hebrues was changed: For the people being oppreſſed through their inſatiable couetouſneſſe, they demanded of *Samuel* that they might haue a king, vvhich he graunted them: ſo that in ſtead of Iudges, they liued vnder Principality, as vve may ſee in the firſt booke of kings. What ſhall I ſay more? If couetouſneſſe be reproued as a damnable vice in all ſorts of people, ſhal it not be much more cõdemned in a Prince, a king, or politicke Gouernment? *Ariſtotle* in his Ethickes deteſteth Auarice in all men, but in politicke Gouernors aboue all others. In men of meane eſtate, the Philoſophers haue commended the vertue, vvhich the Latines cal Parſimonie, and we tearm Sparing, eſpecially in thoſe that haue many children, and ſmall ſtore of wealth, (which we ſee commonly happen.) But in a Royall State, and in an opulent Common-vveale, Parſimonie is reproued. For in as much as their fortune is great and mightie, ſo much the rather is it required, that they ſhew their liberalitie and magnificence. I vvill neuer commend in men of honour this niggardly ſparing, which in poore houſekeepers (in regard of their pouertie) is to be born withall. *Sergius Galba* who ſucceeded *Nero*, vvas vvorthily reprooued, in that he vvas not onely ouer-ſparing of his own

reuenues,

reuenues, but moſt couetous of the publicke treaſure. Who vvould not diſcommend the niggardlineſſe of *Didius Iulius*, vvho being a man of great vvealth, if any one had beſtowed a hare, a pigge, or ſome ſuch like preſent on him, he vvould haue made three or four meales thervvith; and many times hee fed on nothing but Beanes or Cabbidge. What ſhall vve ſay more? *Pertinax* being aduaunced to the degree of Emperour, did not yet forget his niggardlineſſe, but parted Lettice and Artichaux in two, that the one halfe might be for his dinner, and the other halfe reſerued for his ſupper. Is it not a great reproch for a prince exalted to high honour, & to poſſeſſe large territories, to haue ſo ſtraight a heart, to liue in miſerable pouertie, to the end he may die rich? If any man vvould obiect vnto me the Parſimony of *Fabricius*, I anſwere, that the age vvherein he liued, ought to excuſe him, in the vvhich all magnificence vvas vnknowne amongſt the Romanes. But to returne to our purpoſe. *Iouius Pontanus* in his booke of Liberalitie, doth vvrite, that a Cardinall named *Angelot*, vvas ſo couetous, that by a falſe dore he deſcended into the ſtable, and euery night ſtole away the oates vvhich his Horſekeepers had giuen his horſes, vvhich cuſtome he continued ſo long, till at the laſt one of his

horſe-

Horſekeepers hiding himſelfe in the ſtable, did ſo belabour him vvith a pitchforke, that he had much adoe to craule away. Contrarily, *Titus* the ſonne of *Veſpaſian*, Emperour of Rome, vvho for his great humanity and Liberality was ſurnamed *Delicia generis humani*, conſidering that his father had beene defamed for his great couetouſneſſe, determined by his Liberality to blot out the bad report his father had gotten. He vvas vvoont to ſay, that a man ought not to goe vvith a ſad countenance before a prince his face. Euery euening before he vvent to bed he remembred vvhat he had done the day paſt, and calling to mind one nighr, that the day before he had beſtowed nothing vpon any man, hee fetched a deepe ſigh, ſaying to thoſe that vvere by, Alas, my friends, I haue loſt this day: meaning that that day vvas loſt, vvherein hee had not ſhewed his Liberality. What vvords of a Prince vvere theſe? What a Royall mind? What bountifulneſſe. *Alexander* the great being reprehended by ſome about him, becauſe he gaue a great and rich City vnto a poor man that begged almes of him, and the poore ſoule himſelfe ſaying vnto him, that ſo great and rich a gift did not belong vnto him: *Alexander* made anſwere, Albeit it is not fit for thee to receaue ſo great a gift, yet it becommeth mee vvell to

giue

giue it. For in bestowing a city on thee, I regarded not thy beggerie, but my Royaltie: What care I though such a gift be not to be receiued of thee, seeing it is agreeable to my estate to bestow it. *Seneca* in his booke of Benefiting, reproueth such gifts, howbeit he praiseth the liberall mind of Princes. The great King *Antigonus* incurred the name of couetous, in caulling vvith a poore man, vvho demanded of him a Talent of gold, vvhich is vvorth sixe hundred French Crownes, to vvhom he made this answere, that such a reward vvas too much to bee giuen to a begger: The poor man then demanded a dramme of him, which is worth a groat, to vvhom *Antigonus* answered, that such a gift vvas too little to bee giuen by a King. For the vvhich he vvas vvorthily reprooued, in that as a king he might haue giuen a Talent, and ought not to haue refused to haue giuen him a dram, he being a poore man. Further, Liberality and bountifulnesse are vertues peculierly proper to a Prince, King, or cheefe Magistrat, as *Aristotle* saith in his Ethickes. And if they ought to vse liberalitie to all sorts of people, they ought principally to be bountiful to men of learning, according to the example of *Ptolomy* King of Ægypt, vvho had a great number of learned men in his court, to whom he gaue great pensi-

ſions. *Alexander* the great, vvhoſe death as *Plutarch* ſaith, vvas happie to the Romanes, had in a manner as great a company of learned men in his armie, as vvarriors. The Emperors *Antony* and *Marcus Aurelius* (ſurnamed the Philoſopher) were very liberall to al mẽ of knowledge. *Dennis* the Tyrant of Siracuſa, gaue a Talent of gold vnto *Helicon* the Cyzicœnien, in recompence of his skill in prognoſticating the eclipſe of the ſunne. *Lyſander* in reward of a few verſes, gaue vnto the Poet *Antiochus* his hat full of ſiluer. King *Alphonſo* gaue a thouſand Duccats to his Secretary *Antony Panormit*, for the ſetting forth of a Chronicle of his vvorthy acts: He gaue likewiſe fiue hundred Duccats to *Pogio* of Florence for tranſlating out of Greeke into Latine *Xenophon* his *Cyropedia*, albeit that *Frauncis Philelpus* had tranſlated it before. I vvould that the Princes of this time, and thoſe that are to come hereafter, vvould take exãple by theſe I haue alledged, amongſt vvhom I may vvorthily put king *Francis* king of France, vvho ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſours in liberality tovvards men of learning, to whom I may likewiſe ioine *Coſmo de Medicis* Duke of Florence for his great liberality towards *Marſilius Ficinus* and other men of knowledge, as appeareth by the mention the ſaid *Ficinus* maketh

keth of him in his vvorkes.

Desire of honor.

The second occasion vvhich causeth alteration and ruine of Commonvveales, is a greedy thirsting, and desire of Honour: for thereby many times great trouble and sedition is mooued amongst Cittizens, vvhich happens vvhen they that are honoured vvith offices and publicke charges; doe enuie such as doe gouerne, taking the matter ill that others are preferred before them. This couetting of Honour vvas the cause of great trouble and alteration in the Common-weale of Rome, chaunging it from Aristocratie into Tyrannie, and the gouernmẽt of one alone: vvhich happened, vvhen as *Iulius Cæsar* scorning a superior, and *Pompey* stomacking to haue any equall to himselfe, did both striue for the principality: stirring vp those horrible and fearefull ciuill vvarres, vvhich brought the Romanes liberty to ruine, vntill both the Tyrants vvere slaine. The same ambition kindled the like ciuile vvarres betweene *Scilla* and *Marius* vvith such extremity, that the streetes and places of Rome, did runne vvith the blood of the Citizens.

Iniury.

The third cause of the change & ouerthrow of kingdomes, is Iniury: vvhich happeneth, vvhen as they that doe beare principall authority in the Commonvveale, through ouermuch insolence and pride, doe iniury, vvrong, & oppression vnto the subiects, by reason vvhereof the common people doe mutinie and moue sedition, and so do bring change and ruin in the estate; vvhich the vvise man dooth signifie to vs in Ecclesiastes saying, One kingdome is transported from one Nation to another for the iniustice, iniuries, and vvrongs of the superiors: as we may read by the example of *Cirus* the great, vvho in respect of the iniury done vnto him by *Astiages* his grandfather, causing him to be exposed imediatly after his birth, rebelled against him, ouercame him in battell, and as a conqueror transported the kingdome from the Medes vnto the Persians. If examples of the Heathens are not sufficient, let vs come vnto the holy Scripture: *Roboam* the sonne of *Salomon* for an iniurious and threatning answer which he gaue vnto his subiects, he chãged his riches into pouerty: For of twelue Tribes, he deseruedly lost tenne, vvhich vvere for euer separated frõ those two which only remained vnder his obedience.

By

By that vvhich I haue ſaid it appeareth, how Iniury doth chaunge and ouerthrow the eſtate of Commonvveales.

Feare.

The fourth cauſe of the mutation and ruine of a Commonvveale is Feare. And that is when as ſome that are criminal, culpable, and conuicted of ſome capitall crimes, for feare of puniſhment vvhich hangeth ouer their head, doe moue ſedition in the Citty, and rebell againſt the Magiſtrates, by vvhom by right they ought to be puniſhed, and ſo they ſeeking to preuent their future puniſhment, to the end, they may not incurre the penalty their offences doe merit, they forceably caſt the Magiſtrats from the adminiſtration of their charge, and ſo change the Gouernment. As for example, the Noblemen did in the Commonvveale of the Rhodians, vvho roſe againſt the people for feare of the puniſhment prepared for them, as *Ariſtotle* reciteth in the third Chapter of his fift booke of Politickes.

Exceſſe.

The fift cauſe is Exceſſe: vvhen as ſome one Cittizen by excellency of vertue, abundance of wealth, or magnanimity of heart, dooth newly

begin to rule ouer others, and hold a Monarchy, seeing that other Citizens are not able to resist him: For aboundance and riches are alwaies accompanied with the fauor of the common people, vvho doe esteeme the possession of riches to be the only soueraigne good, albeit the troth is otherwise. But it is as hard to norish fire in vvater, as to find good iudgement amongst the common sort. By this meanes, the Communalties of Italy doe often change their Commonvveales, they being naturally enclined to diuision through partialities, so that they are neuer in peace: For no sooner forraine vvars do cease, but ciuile and domesticall broiles do torment them. The example of that vvhich I haue spokē of, vvas practised in the Commonvveale of Florence, during the time of *Cosmo de Medicis*, vvho did not onely deserue the onely principality ouer that Common-vveale, but a farre greater Monarchy, he vvas so throughly accompanied vvith vertue and learning, to the vvhich his perfections, riches did giue a greater shew and ornament.

Contempt.

The sixt cause is Contempt: & that happeneth vvhen as some Citizens are dispised, and excluded from offices and publicke charges,

and

and vvhen as in a city dignities are not beſtowed indifferently, for thē they vvhich are contemned, do mutiny and riſe againſt thoſe who haue the politicke gouernment: and by that meanes the Eſtate is changed, as appeareth by the example of Thebes, and of Megara, vvhen they vvere ouercome through the euil gouernment of the cheefe rulers and Magiſtrates. So the like happened to the Common-vveale of Siracuſa, before that *Gelo* vſurped Tyranny ouer them: the like alſo did befall the Rhodians. The Venetians take good order to remedy this inconuenience: For albeit that the common ſort be excluded from all eſtates and offices of honour in their commonvveale, and haue no authority therein, yet to giue them ſome cōtentment, and to take away from them occaſion of mutinie, they beſtow vpon ſome of them ſome baſe and meane office, vvhich they doe with great diſcretiō, for a man of baſe eſtate accounteth it a credite for him to beare office in the commonvveale, how vile ſoeuer it bee. Contempt vvas in times paſt cauſe at Rome of great ſeditions, yea ſuch, that they had vvelnigh ouerthrowne the whole Eſtate. What ſedition did the people moue, when as the Senat & the Nobility held them in ſuch diſdaine, that they could not aſpire to the dignity of Conſulſhip,

nor

nor Dictatorſhip, nor any other title of honor vvhatſoeuer, in the Gouernment of the Commonvveale. The moſt part of the ſeditions and rebellions at Rome, happened in this reſpect, that the people held themſelues as contemned and excluded from all publicke charges, and from alliance and mariage vvith Noble men: vvherevpon they vvere forced to content and appeaſe their fury, to graunt them their Tribunes, as we may read in the firſt Decade of *Titus Liuius*, and in *Plutarke* in the life of *Coriolanus*. After the death of King *Charles* the ſeuēth of that name, a Prince of his naturall inclination, gentle, louing, and meeke, ſucceeded his eldeſt ſonne *Lewis* the eleuenth, a Prince naturally contraryto his father, for he vvas bitter, vehement, ſuſpicious, of a ſtirring wit, and hard to ſerue, as much as any Prince in the world, as *Philip de Comines* reporteth of him, vvho ſetteth him forth liuely in his colours, vvhich he might vvell doe, being one of his moſt familier ſeruants: This King immediately after the coronation (vpon vvhat humour, is vnknowne) did as it vvere baniſh from the Court, as vvell the Princes of blood, as the other Lords, and determined to ſerue himſelfe vvith men of meane eſtate, and almoſt of no account, but baſe companions, imagining (as ſome preſume) hee

ſhould

ſhould draw better ſeruice from them, and be better obeied by them, then of men extracted of noble parentage. Amongſt the reſt of his ſeruaunts vvho vvere moſt aduanced by him, vvas one *Doyac*, and *Oliuer Deere* his barbour, vvho abaſed himſelfe to that vild office, that vvith his tongue he licked the blood from his Hemeroides. The Princes and Lords of France ſeeing thẽſelues to be contemned in ſuch ſort, they gathered an army together, encamped themſelues neere to Paris, and offered the king battel, vvho made head againſt thẽ, though to his loſſe. the battle vvas giuen at a place called Montlhery the 27 of Iulie 1465, the place giuing name to the day. This contempt put the king in hazard to looſe both his Eſtate and his life, if by great prudence & policy he had not appeaſed the fury and vvrath of the ſaid Princes and Nobility. This notable example ought to be imprinted in the memory of all Princes and politicke Gouernors, that they may therby learne to keepe themſelues from deſpiſing their ſubiects, leaſt they incurre the like danger which king *Lewis* did, vvho after the ſaid ſeditiõ became more vviſe & prudent then before: for the remainder of his life, he vvas a Lyon in force, and a Foxe in counſell.

Ouergreat increaſe.

The ſeuenth cauſe is, vvhen as ſome one part of a Commonvveale doth beſides a due and requiſite proportion increaſe more then the reſt. And this happeneth vvhen ſome of the Citizens doe become richer then others, or haue an extraordinary aduantage in honor and profite. For that ſide that is poorer, and not in that dignity, may perhaps exceed in number, as in euery Common-vveale it is ordinarily ſeene, that for one rich man, there are an hundred poore, vvho truſting to their multitude, do mooue mutiny againſt the rich, vvho are the ſmaller number: by vvhich meanes oftentimes the State is changed, yea ſometimes vtterly ouerthrovvne. As vve ſee that the body of man ought naturally to haue a due proportion in the members thereof, ſo likewiſe there ought to be (as much as it is poſsible) in the politicke body the like proportion, as vvell in honour as in riches to auoid ſedition. If any man had a noſe exceeding in greatneſſe the bigneſſe of his foot, he ſhould be held for a monſter and out of faſhion: in like manner, vvhen as ſome one of the Citizens do excell the reſt in riches more than is fit in due proportion, the politick body becommeth monſtrous, and ſo cannot

long

long continue vvithout danger of tumult, and conſequently vvithout chaunge or ruine. To auoid ſedition, vvhich might ariſe amongſt the Citizens, and to remedy the ſame in ſome Cities in Greece, & namely in Athens, Oſtraciſme vvas inuented, vvhich vvas baniſhment for ten yeares, againſt ſuch as did exceed either in riches, credit, or fauour, and that vvas done by the voice of the people: For vvhen they ſaw ſome one amongſt them to ſurpaſſe the reſt in vvealth and ſubſtance, they feared that through their exceſsiue riches and fauour they might conuert the popular liberty into Tiranny. To the preuenting vvhereof, they aſſembled themſelues together, and by moſt voices declared Oſtraciſme againſt them, ſo that they vvere cõſtrained to depart & forſake the city for the ſpace of ten years as baniſhed men: Albeit they vvere not culpable of any publicke or priuate crime, but very honeſt men. For the only ſuſpition that they might aſpire vnto the Tirannie, cauſed them to be baniſhed. *Thraſibulus* Duke of the Athenians, ſeeing ſome Citizens in his Common-vveale to ſurpaſſe others in riches and fauour, and fearing as it falleth out manie times, that it might be ſome cauſe for them the rather to attempt the vſurpation of Tirannie, he ſent a meſſenger vnto the Philoſopher *Peri-*

ander (vvho vvas accounted one of the ſeuen ſages of Greece) to aske his counſel and aduiſe in a doubtfull matter: *Periander* aduertiſed by the meſſenger, of *Thraſibulus* intent, anſwered him neither by vvord nor vvriting (fearing perhaps ſome reuenge) but onely by ſignes, leading the meſſenger into a field of Wheat, readie to be cut downe, and before him cut off the heads of corne that vvere higher then the reſt; meaning thereby, that *Thraſibulus* ought to take from amongſt the reſt of the Cittizens thoſe that did ſo farre excell the reſt, and by that meanes bring the Citty to equality. Now, it is not only conuenient in a Common-vveale that ſome citizens be not permitted to exceed others in riches, and the reſt left poor, but there ought likevviſe regard to be had, that all the ſtately and ſumptuous building be not in one place, but if it may be, equally diſperſed throgh euery ſtreet; to the end, that one place be not made populous, and the reſt of the Citty left deſolate. This mutation in a Common-vveale happeneth ſometimes by the hazard of Fortune: as it chanced in times paſt to thoſe of Tarent, vvho loſt all their Nobilitie in a battaile againſt the Iapigenſiens (vvhich vvas ſhortly after that the Medes made war againſt Greece) their Common-vveale being chaunged into a

popular

popular gouernment. The Argiues after the ouerthrow of their men, by *Cleomenes* of Sparta, vvere conſtrained to receaue ſtraungers into their Commonweale in ſtead of their citizens. The like happened in Athens, vvhen as their Nobilitie vvas almoſt vtterly ouerthrowne and ſlaine by the Lacedemonians.

Shame.

The eight cauſe is Shame, and that happens vvhen as vvithout anie tumult or ſedition, the Citizens by a common conſent do change the ancient forme of gouernment by ſome ſhamefull euill vvhich is happened vnto them, hoping thereby to reform it, as for example: If in a Cõmonvveale the cuſtome vvere to chuſe officers by election, and that it ſo fell out, that through the ambition, fauour, and couetouſnes of ſome few Citizens, ſuch vvere choſen to beare rule, as vvere vnvvorthie, and not capable of ſuch dignity; and for very ſhame thereof, the Cittizens ſhould make decrees and orders, that afterwards the Magiſtrates ſhould be choſen by lot & not by election, now ſuch chãge ſhould proceed from ſhame. In like manner ſhame was the cauſe of the alteration of the Cõmonvveale of the Iewes in the time of *Samuel*, his ſonne failing from the vertue and integrity of his fa-

ther, becomming a corrupt iudge. They being aſhamed to depriue him from the eſtate of a Iudge (fearing leaſt they ſhould by that means make his father penſiue and ſad, vvho vvas a man of admirable holineſſe) the people determined by a common conſent to chaunge the forme of their Commonvveale, that in ſtead of Iudges they might haue Kings, vvhich vvas graunted them by *Samuel*, and by the commandement of GOD *Saule* vvas annointed the firſt king of the Iewes; as appeareth in the eight chapter of the firſt booke of kings. The like mutation happened in the Commonvveale of Herea, vvhere they vvere vvoont to create their Magiſtrates by election, vvhich vvhen they ſaw was done by fauour, and that the moſt vnworthie vvere choſen, as it vvere vvith ſhame, they chaunged their election into Lots.

Negligence.

The ninth cauſe is Negligence, & that happeneth vvhen as the cittizens are ſo negligent, that they let them haue the gouernment of the city, vvho loue not the preſent State: and ſo it falleth out oftentimes, that vvhen ſuch ſee thẽſelues placed in ſupreme dignitie and authoritie, they take boldneſſe vpon them to chaunge

the

the politicke gouernment into that forme that is moſt pleaſing vnto them, and ſortable to their affections: vvhich vvas brought to paſſe in the commonweale of the Hereans, vvhich was gouerned by the power of a few. But whē as *Heracleodorus* was choſen their Magiſtrate, he gaue the attempt, and chaunged their auncient politicke eſtate from the power of a few, to a Popular gouernment.

Small occaſions.

The tenth cauſe is Small occaſions, and that happeneth vvhen either by diſſembling, or otherwiſe, ſome ſmall thing is taken either frō the Law, or from the politicke State. The common Prouerbe is, That from one ſmall thing we come to another, and many a little, make a great; and ſo by little and little the authority of the State, or of the law is diminiſhed: which they durſt not haue done altogether, leaſt it ſhould be a matter too euident: as for example, there are ſome, who if you giue them an inch of liberty, they will take an ell, and by tract of time vſe it altogether, which may be prooued by a naturall example. We ſee that a lingering ague doth at the firſt ſo little trouble the patient, that he ſcarſely can diſcerne that he is ſick, but being let runne, and no remedy applied

thereto

thereto in time it draweth to the feuer Ectícke. This ſmall diminiſhing by ſucceſsion, cauſed in time paſt the ruine of the Ambraciotes, who from a little came to nothing.

Diſagreement of manners.

The eleuenth cauſe is diſagreement of manners. And that happeneth when as the parts of a City are vnequall, and vvhen as the one (to vvit, the inferiour part) vvill needs bee equall vvith the ſuperiour, ſeeking either to ſurmount it, or excell it. For example, it hath ben often ſeene, that vvhen as ſtrangers haue ben receaued in a Commonvveale, they increaſed in ſuch ſort, that they did reuolt againſt the Cittizens. This feare *Pharoah* vvas poſſeſſed vvithal, who ſeeing the Hebrewes (ſtraungers in his Countrey) multiplie ſo mightily, that they vvere in a manner as ſtrong as the Ægyptians, he cauſed it to bee proclaimed, that the male children of the Hebrues ſhould bee ſlaine as they vvere borne: vvhich he did to this end, becauſe they increaſed (as he thought) ouermuch. Diſagreement vvas the cauſe of a great ſedition at Rome, and becauſe that the hiſtories and Romane Chronicles doe make mention thereof, as a matter very memorable, I will ſet downe one example. When as the common people of

Rome

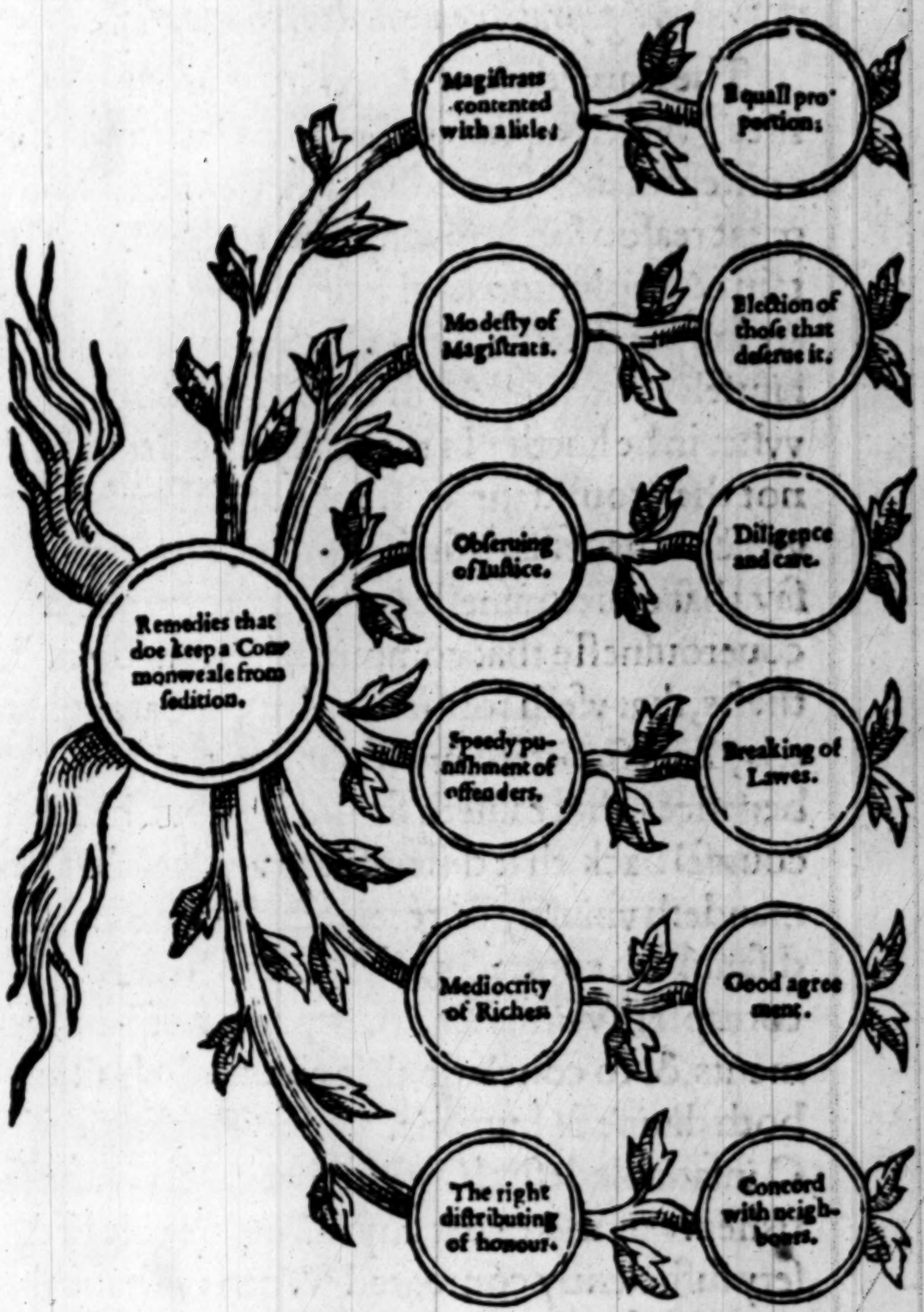
Rome did perceiue, that none but the Noble Senatours, and ſuch as were deſcended from them (vvhich they call *Patrij* of this Latine vvord *Pater*) vvere aduanced to the adminiſtration of politicke gouernment, and that they vvere depriued from any publicke charge and office, they aroſe againſt the Senators and the Nobility vvith ſuch fury, that he that vvas indued vvith moſt conſtancie amongſt them, did tremble. And indeed the people had recourſe to armes, vvhich (as the Poet ſaith) Fury put into their hands, and ſo they incamped in the mountaine called *Mons ſacer* beyond the flood Anien, three miles diſtant from Rome. The Senators and Nobility were in great perplexitie and perill, and the vvhole ſtate of the Romane Empire, if any enemy had then preſently aſſailed them. The Senate to appeaſe the people, ſent out *Menenius*, to perſuade vvith thē, which opened vnto them the Apology of the reſt of the members againſt the belly: by the vvhich compariſon he appeaſed the fury of the people & cauſed thē to return to the city, cōditionally that they ſhould afterwards haue their peculiar officers choſen from amongſt them, vvhich they called the Tribunes of the people.

Outward cauſe.

The twelfth occaſion is Outward cauſe, and

that is, when as a city or commonvveale, either neare, or farre off, is an enemy vnto another: Eſpecially vvhē one is more rich, more ſtrong, and more mighty then the other: thē that which is the weakeſt & the meaneſt, is cōmonly oppreſſed by the ſtrongeſt, & ſo is either made the ſame vvith the other, or vtterly brought to ruin: as we do read that many cities and Commonweales were changed by the Romanes, when as by force of Armes they did well nigh bring the vvhole vvorld vnder their yoke: and hauing conquered Aſia, Macedonia, Iudea, and Egipt, they reduced them into prouinces. Likewiſe, the Kingdome of Iſraell was ouerthrown by the Aſſyrians, and the kingdome of *Iuda* by the Babilonians; both the which were brought vnder their ſubiection, and the people led captiue. To conclude this Commentarie, we will ſay that ſedition of the people, is the moſt extreame of all others, and doth ſooneſt ſubiect a Commonweale.

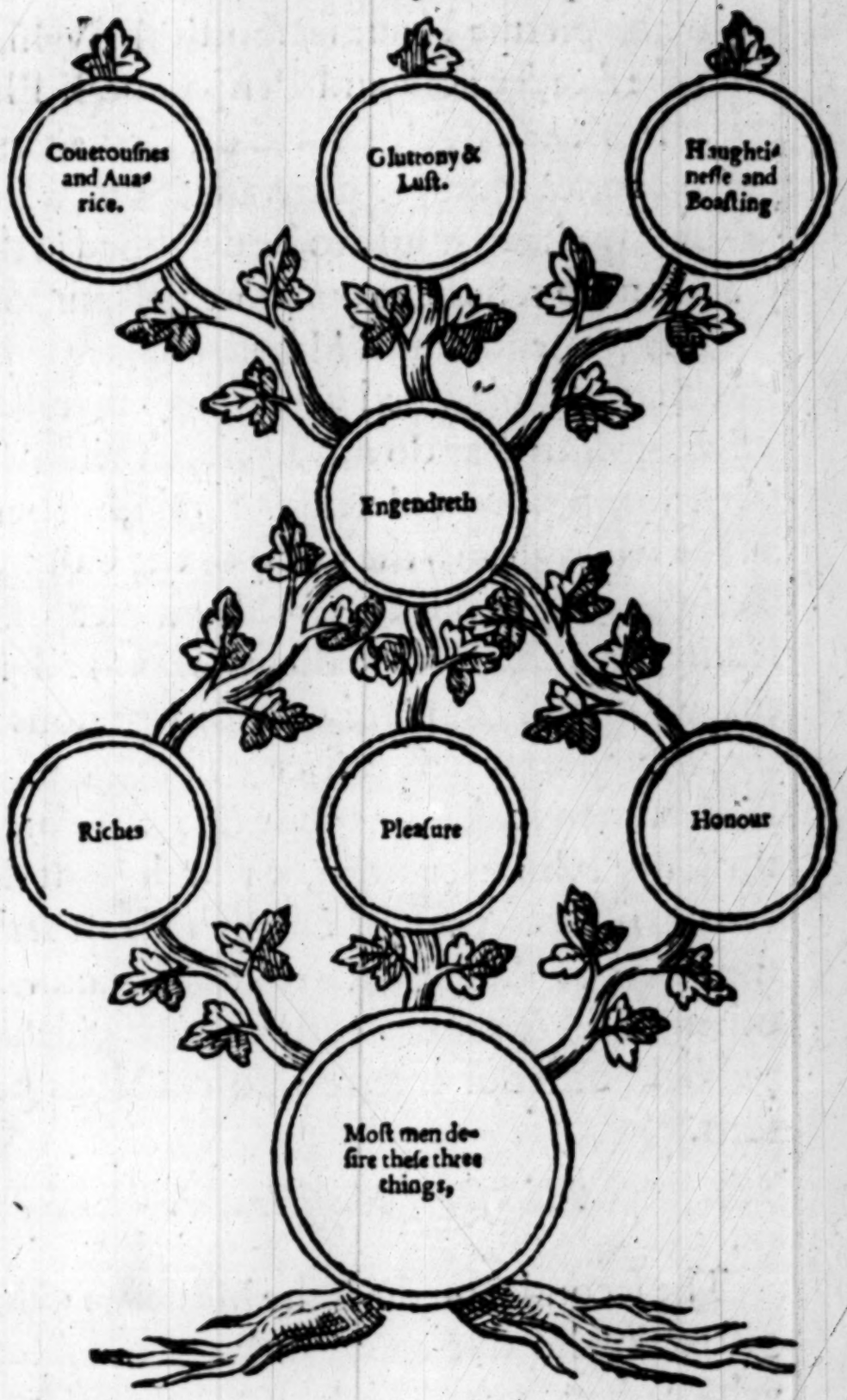
Now in as much as we ought to cure diſeaſes by their oppoſite remedies, it behoouethvs now to come vnto the twelue remedies which do contradict the former cauſes, and are a let and hinderance to ſeditions, & the ouerthrow of ſtates, as may appeare by the tree and Commentaries following.


Remedies that doe keep a Commonweale from sedition.
Magistrats contented with a little.
Equall proportion.
Modesty of Magistrats.
Election of those that deserue it.
Obseruing of Iustice.
Diligence and care.
Speedy punishment of offenders.
Breaking of Lawes.
Mediocrity of Riches.
Good agreement.
The right distributing of honour.
Concord with neighbours.

Magiſtrats contented with a little.

The learned Poet *Horace* beginneth his Satires (vvhich he calleth Sermons) with the diſcontentment of worldlie men; which he had great reaſon for, knowing that to be the fountain & beginning of al vices. Is there any greater folly in the world then for a man not to hold himſelf contented vvith the eſtate & vocation vvherin he liueth? Is there any vice that taketh not the ground therof from our vnſatiablenes, vvhich is neuer ſatisfied? Doth not the Apoſtle ſay, that couetouſneſſe is the root of al euil? It is couetouſneſſe that committeth ſacriledges & theſts, that vſeth robberies, that prepareth battels, that cõmitteth manſlaughters, that ſelleth benefices, that cauſeth ſchiſmes, that holdeth counſel back, that diſſembleth abuſes, that demandeth vniuſtly & receiueth diſhoneſtly, that diſanulleth contracts, that violateth oaths, that corrupteth vvitneſſes, that peruerteth iudgements, & to conclude, that cõfoundeth all laws both diuine & humane. O vnquenchable fire! O inſatiable deſire! O gulfe that canſt not be ſatisfied! was there euer any mã in this vale of miſery ſufficiently contented? When vve haue that vve vviſh for, then vve deſire more. We neuer limit any end in that vvhich vve haue, but rather in that vve ſeeke after. For (as the Poet ſaith) by how much riches abound, by ſo much is the loue and deſire of monie increaſed.

The Mirrour of Policie.



In this picture I haue ſet foorth that vvhich both the Academicall and Peripateticall Philoſophers haue largely treated off in their morall diſcourſes touching mens affections, which fell out by chaunce fitly to be deſcribed in this place. But to returne to our principall purpoſe:

The contentment of Magiſtrates, and their Mediocritie, obſerued according to reaſon, (that is, when they do not aſpire to their owne perticular profite, and deſire of gain, but bend all their thoughts to the good of the Cōmonweale) I ſay it is a moſt aſſured bulwark againſt ſedition: which giueth vs this wholſome aduiſe, that we ſhould not place couetous perſons in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice: For when ſuch kind of men are ſet in authoritie, they bring the Citty vvholly to ruine, or at the leaſt doe greatly trouble it. The counſell which *Iethro* the Prieſt of Madian gaue to *Moſes* (amongſt other things) was, that he ſhould not giue any publicke office of Iuſtice vnto couetous perſons.

Modeſty of Magiſtrates.

The ſecond remedie is the Modeſtie of Magiſtrates vvho doe command, and of ſubiects vvhich obey, vvhich ſhall be rightly obſerued vvhen as euerie one in their degree do content

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themſelues in their eſtate, vvithout ambition to aſpire to higher degrees of honour then their capacity vvil beare: Wherein is to be noted, that euery one in his calling ought to conſider what he is able to doe. *Horace* in his Art of Poetrie, exhorteth Poets not to vndertake any vvorke aboue the reach of their vnderſtanding, which exhortation ought to ſtretch to al ſorts of people. Moreouer, in as much as (according to the Prouerbe) euerie man ought to looke further then his feet; if anie Citizen doe go about by vndue meanes to aſpire vnto any publicke office, he ought to be baniſhed from the Cittie, as a plague, or peſtilence, yea as a peſtiferous poiſon.

Obſeruing of Iuſtice.

The third remedie is the obſeruing of Iuſtice, and the ſeueritie thereof. For of neceſsity in euery Commonweale, it behooueth for the well gouerning thereof (according vnto the doctrine of *Solon*) to puniſh the wicked, and reward the good; expell and vtterly root out vices, honour and recompence vertue. The wicked are puniſhed, to the end, that innocencie may be preſerued betweene good men: Good men are rewarded, to the end, that the hope of recompence might further encourage them.

them, to the exercise of vertue, vvhich both the Grecians and the Romanes likewise diligently obserued, erecting publickely to the view of all the world the Images of vertuous men. The vse of setting vp of Images to vertuous men, as well at Rome, as elsewhere was left off in the declining Estate of the Empire, which began in the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. And one of the reasons thereof was, that in the beginning of the primitiue church many Christians that vvere men of authority, in zeal to the faith, caused many auncient Images at Rome to be beaten downe as Relickes of the ancient Idolatrie of the Heathens, and did forbid the erecting of anie other. And from that time the vse of Escuchons and Armory vvas found out, as a vvitnesse of their Nobility and vertue, vvhich amongst the Christian Nobility vve vse euen at this day; inriching their shields vvith mettals and combers, blasoning thē according to that vvhich they containe. And as learned *Buda* reciteth, the Armories vve vse at this present, succeeded the auncient Images, albeit they vvere farre more magnificent, and shewed greater vvorkmanship then our Escuchons, vvhich vve vse as an honour and revvard of vertue. Novv vve ought not only to vse seuerity of Iustice against such citizens as offend, but euē against

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the Magiſtrats thẽſelues, vvhẽ they abuſe their eſtate and dignity. For whẽ they perceiue the Magiſtrates thẽſelues when they offend, to be rigorouſly puniſhed for their offences, as priuate perſons, they indure their own puniſhmẽt with patience. And this ought wel to be waighed, that as in a mans face a little mole or wart is more apparent then a great skar in the body, ſo vices (though they be but ſmal) are ſooner ſeen in Princes and Magiſtrats, then great faults in men of meane eſtate.

Speedy puniſhment of offenders.

The fourth remedy is, Speedy puniſhmẽt of offenders without delay: for knowing that for their wickednes & miſcheefe they are daily apprehẽded, examined, that witneſſes are brought againſt thẽ face to face, that they are tormẽted, cõdemned, & according to their demerites executed (if before the executiõ through the negligence of Magiſtrats they haue any time & reſpit) thinking to ſaue their liues and eſcape puniſhment (whervnto their conſcience condemneth them as guilty) they moue ſedition in the Commonweale; & as men diſpairing of their liues, they do their beſt to ſaue thẽſelues: which they could neuer attempt, if after their cõdemning they were ſpeedily executed.

Mediocrity of goods.

The fift remedy is Mediocrity of the goods of the Citizens: according vnto the vvhich, we ought to haue regard vnto euery mans calling, whereby order ought to be taken, that there be no exceſſe, or ouermuch exceeding in power, or riches. And if it happen that any ſubiect come to ſuch ouergreat fauour, credite, power, or riches, that he may therby attempt the vſurpation of Tyrannie in the Commonweale; he ought betimes to be baniſhed, and by that meanes the publicke liberty ſhal be preſerued, all exceſſe being taken away. Which *Ariſtophanes* did vviſely teach, when as in his Tragedy he raiſed *Pericles* from Hell, exhorting the Magiſtrates and politicke Gouernours not to nouriſh a Lion in their cities. For if they bring him vp vvhē he is little, they muſt of neceſsity obay him vvhen he is growne greater. By this ſimilitude he gaue them to vnderſtand, that the yong children of Noblemen, and of rich parentage, ought to be checked, and their inſolencies corrected, vvhile they are as yong Lions; otherwiſe, they vvill prooue intollerable vvhen they come to age, and vve muſt be forced to obay him as the Lion vvhen he is great, vvho of neceſsity we muſt ſuffer. It is great folly not to indure

dure the forces vvhich vve our ſelues haue noriſhed. Moreouer, Mediocrity was wont to be ſo much eſteemed, that the learned Poet *Horace* calleth it golden: For as gold doth ſurpaſſe all other mettals in eſtimation, ſo doth Mediocritie all other things in aſſurance; as contrarily exceſſe is vnaſſured, and in danger to be ſhaken. Mediocritie holdeth the middeſt between exceſſe and vvant, and the true meane is that vvhich taketh part of the two extreames. *Ariſtotle* in his fourth booke of the Polickes, ſaith: That by how much any thing is farre off from the middeſt, by ſo much is it worſe; and by how much it approcheth thereunto, ſo much the better it is. The Greeke Epigram ſaith, That whoſoeuer eateth ouermuch honie, that vvhich is ouermuch (albeit be verie ſweet) conuerteth into moſt bitter choller: vnderſtanding thereby, that as all that is inough is good, ſo all that is ouermuch, is bad. *Bachus* ſaid, That the Northernewind is too cold, and the Southerne wind too hot, but the Weſterne vvind is temperate. And indeed it is that wind that clotheth the earth, and the reſt being either too hot, or too cold, doe make it naked. What ſhall we ſay more? All the Grecian, Arabian, and Latine Phiſitions, doe all vvith a common conſent hold this, that the health of mans bodie conſi-

steth in mediocrity, harmony, and temperature of humors and qualities: and sickness proceedeth of excesse. *Phebus* admonished *Phaeton*, and *Dedalus* his sonne *Icarus* to keep a meane, which they did not, and so it turned to their destruction: for the one was burned, and the other drowned. It resteth to conclude this title, that Mediocrity is necessary for the conseruation of a Commonweale, yea of al other things whatsoeuer.

The right distributing of honour.

The sixt remedy is, The right distributing of honor and dignity. For they vvhich do merite to be honoured and aduanced by their vertue vnto publicke offices, ought (without all doubt) be preferred before others: And contrarily, they which are vnworthie to be promoted to such honor, in regard of their vices ought altogether to be excluded frō anie office or dignitie in the Commonweale, as infected & rotten sheepe ought to be excluded frō the whole and sound: which being obserued, no vertuous Citizen will thinke himselfe to be despised, & the vicious shall haue no cause to complaine, that he is not called to any office, when he shall know that his owne vice is cause thereof. For (as the Satyricall Poet saith) The sting of a mans

ovvn conſcience, is the firſt iudge of euery one. *Horace* in one of his Epiſtles ſaith: That to be innocent of crime, & to feele that a man is free from offence, is a braſen & impregnable tovver to euery one: For innocency giueth great aſſurance to the innocent. And contrarily, vvhen a man in his ovvne conſcience is guiltie, he is alvvaies in feare to be puniſhed for his offence. Moreouer, Kings and Princes ought aboue all things to be carefull, that they put not couetous men, & ſuch as haue a large conſcience in publick offices & authority, if they intend not to make ſhepheards of vvolues. *Veſpaſian* vvas much noted, that in the beginning of his reign he gaue the greateſt dignities of Rome vnto the greateſt theeues he could find in the Commonvveale: and vvhen he vvas asked the occaſion vvhy he did ſo, ſeeing that authoritie giueth occaſion vnto the vvicked to become vvorſe, he anſvvered, that he ſerued his turne vvith ſuch officers, as vvith ſpunges, vvhich vvhen they had drunke in as much moiſture as they could, he vvould vvring thẽ dry: meaning to take frõ them both their goods & their life. This policy in a Prince (to ſay the troth) vvas vvorth litle; for *Veſpaſian* himſelf vvas the theef, vvhich vice he vvas infected vvithall through faintneſſe of heart, & a ſeruile nature, deſiring to

enrich his cofers, by the theft of his owne officers.

Equall proportion.

The ſeuenth remedie is Equall proportion. By the vvhich Mediocritie & reaſon being obſerued, one part of the Commonweale is not ſuffered to exceed & increaſe ouermuch aboue the reſt, which being obſerued, the Commonvveale vvill remaine whole, and entire, & without any deuiſion. As by a naturall example vve may perceiue: We ſee that mans body is vvell diſpoſed, and in health, and exerciſeth duly his naturall offices, vvhen one humour, or quality doth not exceed another: For (as I haue ſaid before) ſuperfluity cauſeth diſeaſes; & good proportion and equality of qualities and humors, occaſioneth health. Beſides there are two ſorts of equality, to wit, of quantity, and of proportion. Equality of quantity, is required in iuſtice commutatiue, to the end, that euerie one may take as much as he ought. Equality of proportion is to be vſed in reſpect of revvard. Moreouer, proportion is taken two kind of vvaies, the one according to the impoſition of the name thereof, and ſo it is the habitude of one quantity to another, according to the exceſſe determined, or made equall. Another vvay it is tooken,

tooken, to signifie the habitude of euery thing, as for example, of the matter to the forme, of the power to the act, of that vvhich is finite to that vvhich is infinite, of the creature to the Creator.

Election of those that deserue it.

The eight remedie is, Election of those that deserue it. In euery Commonweale we ought to be very prudent in the choise of Magistrats, which (as Plato saith) are in the Commonweale, as the eies in mans bodie. And as the bodie cannot guide it selfe without eies (which are the Organicall instruments of sight) so a politicke bodie cannot be gouerned vvithout Magistrates, vvhich (if they be such as they ought) doe cause a City to flourish: And contrarily, if they be euill they bring it to ruine. *Iethro* counselled *Moyses* to chuse such Magistrates and Iudges ouer the people of Israell, as vvere men tried and approoued to hate couetousnes (as hath ben said before.) Such as are Magistrates ought to thinke vpon the threatning of the Apostle, saying, Desire not to haue authoritie ouer others, for they vvhich beare rule, doe drawe great iudgement vpon themselues. Besides, euerie Magistrate ought to be true in vvord, iust in iudgement, in counsell

cleare

clear ſighted, in his office faithful, cõſtant in his behauior, in his going graue, in his looks mild, towards the vvicked ſeuere, towards the good gentle and gracious, and to be ſhort, he ought to be the example and mirror of all vertue. And in as much as (according to the ſaying of *Seneca*) the people doe giue more credite to their eies, then to their eares, that is, For as much as they doe beleeue rather that vvhich they ſee, then that vvhich they heare; and the vvay to inſtruct the common ſort by precepts is long, & by example verie ſhort, and of great efficacie: It behoueth him rather to be carefull of that vvhich he doth, thẽ that vvhich he ſaith; becauſe the people take greater heed to that vvhich is done, then that vvhich is ſaid. And vvhatſoeuer the Magiſtrat ſaith, whether it be good or bad, the people ground their opinion vpon his actions: vvherefore he ought to imagine, that he is to them as the vvhite to the arrovv, vvhereat they all do aime.

Diligence and care.

The ninth remedie is care and diligence, to make choice of ſuch for Magiſtrates and principal officers, vvho do loue that kind of Commonvveale vvherein they liue; and not thoſe that ſeeke to alter it: vvhich they vvill endeuour

to

to effect vvhen they are placed in authoritie. As for example, if the Senate had not choſen *Silla* to be Dictator, he had not made that butcherie and maſſacre of Citizens as hee did at Rome: making the office perpetuall, vvhereas by the auncient cuſtome it vvas vvoont to laſt but ſixe months. Likewiſe, if *Julius Cæſar* had not ben choſen to goe againſt the Gaules, and the Senate had not vndiſcreetly giuen him that great authoritie, he had not changed the Cõmonweale as he did, from an Ariſtocratie to a Monarchie (or rather to a Tyrannie:) ſuppreſſing as vvell the authoritie of the Senate, as the libertie of the people; vvhich many good men ſeeking to defend, they vvere moſt cruellie ſlaine and baniſhed.

Breaking of Lawes.

The tenth remedie is, Breaking of lawes. Which is to be vnderſtood, vvhen the Magiſtrates are carefull, not to diſſemble, vvhen any ſubiect dooth indeuour to breake the Lawes: Which at the beginning is not done altogither, for then the matter ſhould be too apparant; but by little and little, to the end it may not be perceiued. And if this be diſſembled or tollerated by the Magiſtrates, it ſheweth greater,

and commeth to infringe openly and vvhollie the law, vvhich is the ſound and firme foundation of euery Commonweale;and that failing, the politicke building commeth to ruine. *Ariſtotle* in the eight Chapter of the fift booke of his Politickes, teaching vs how to preſerue a Commonvveale, ſaith : In euery vvell ordered ſocietie vvell ſetled by good Lawes, vve ought to take great heed,that vve doe not change the leaſt point in them,and to haue great care,that no alteration at all be made, vvhich it behoueth vs to look vnto at the firſt:For if reſiſtãce be not made at the beginning, it happeneth as vve ſee fall out in a mans bodie, vvhere if at the firſt ſpeedy remedie be not giuen to many diſeaſes,they become in the end incurable. The Apoſtle vvriting to the Coloſsians, hath ſo much exalted the law,that he called it the bond of perfection.Saint Auguſtine vvriting to Macedonius ſaith: That Princely power,the Magiſtrate condemning,the hangman executing, the ſecular arme ſtrengthening,the maſter cõmanding,the father correcting, are not ordained in vaine; for euerie one of theſe haue their proper cauſes,their reaſons,and their profite. When euerie one of them are feared, the vvicked are chaſtiſed, and the good liue in aſſurance amongſt them ; that after the Lawe is

once

once eſtabliſhed and approoued, vve ought not to iudge it, but liue according vnto it. To be ſhort, the Law in a Citie is as the ſoule in a bodie: and like as the bodie vvithout the ſoule, commeth to ruine, euen ſo the Commonvveale vvithout the Law, is ſoone brought to deſtruction.

Good agreement.

The eleuenth remedie is, Good agreement: And that is, vvhen as to parts that are vnlike, they doe beſtow ſuch office as rightly belongeth thereto, taking away all occaſion of diſcord, vvhich might happen by reaſon of diſagreement. A Commonweale cannot be eſtabliſhed vvithout ſuch parts as are vnlike: For ſome are Prieſts, othes Magiſtrates, ſome Noblemen, others Burgeſſes, ſome Merchaunts, ſome Artificers, ſome Labouring men, vvho are all vnlike in their exerciſe and trade of life: as likewiſe vve ſee mans bodie is framed of vnlike members, for the eie reſembleth not the hand, nor the hand the foot, nor the foot the head; and like as they are different in forme, ſo are they likewiſe diſtinct in office: For the hand toucheth, the eie ſeeth, the foot vvalketh, and ſo of the reſt. And albeit that the ſaid members

are vnlikely in forme and office, yet are they all reduced to one harmony, and do agree in such sort together, that the one doth not vsurpe the office which is by nature destinate to another. For as the eie doth not entermeddle vvith touching, nor the hand vvith seeing, so likewise in a politicke body the dissimilitude of the parts thereof breedeth good agreement, vvhen euery part thereof dooth exercise the office belonging vnto it selfe, vvithout medling vvith anothers calling; as vvhen the Priests are vsed about Ceremonies and Religion, Noblemen about Arms, Artificers about Handicrafts, &c. euery one imploying himselfe about his owne office, not intruding himselfe into anothers vocation, the Commonweale shall agree in perfect harmony: Notwithstanding the dissimilitude of the parts therof, it shall be at quiet. But if the Priests go about to exercise Armes, and the Noblemen sacrifices, the Commonweale would come to confusion and vtter ruine, as it would happen vnto the body of man, if one member should vndertake anothers office.

Concord with Neighbours.

The twelfth and last remedy to vvithstand ciuile commotions is, Concord vvith Neighbours.

bours. For life may be accounted as no life, if it be not in peace and tranquility. And albeit it is good and praiſeworthy to be in league and friendſhip with thoſe that are farre of, yea with all men; yet notwithſtanding, it is more neceſſary to be at good agreement with ones neighbours, who at all times may either help or hinder. To which purpoſe, the common Prouerbe ſaith, That who ſo hath a good neighbor, hath a good morrow. *Heſiodus* a moſt auncient Greeke Poet in his booke of daies and works, eſteemeth a good neighbour to be the ſoueraigne good both in the Country, and in the City. Now euery good politicke Gouernour ought to endenour all that in him lyeth, to win the fauour and grace of thoſe Commonweales that are neare vnto him, in regard of the great good that may come thereof, and the harme that may happen by the contrary. For examples herein, the Etolians and the Acarnanians were ſuch mortall enemies, that they were the ouerthrow the one of the other. The like whereof fell out betweene the Carthaginians and the Biotians. *Virgil* complaines greatly of the diſcord betweene thoſe of Mantua where he was borne, and of Cremona. *Plutarch* reciteth, that *Themiſtocles* deſiring to ſell a farme of his, cauſed a common crier to pub-

liſh the goodneſſe and fertility thereof, and amongſt other commodities, that there vvere good and quiet neighbors about it, eſteeming that the good neighbourhood would cauſe it to be ſold at a higher rate. To conclude this title, I exhort the Magiſtrates of all Cities to purchaſe the grace and fauour of other Townes, eſpecially of their neighbours; and that being gotten, to entertaine them in peace and concord, vvhich as an inheritance Ieſus Chriſt left here below to thoſe that are his.

Anthro: Yalloy

In as much, gentle Reader, as the moſt pernitious plague that may befall any politicke body, is ſedition and mutiny among Citizens, (for the eſchewing whereof we haue ſtrained the ſinewes of our weake and feeble skil to comment vpon the former trees) alſo that the Platonicall Commonweale (which Plato attributeth to Socrates) did miniſter matter of ſedition in regard of the community of goods, wiues, and children, more then any other; we haue hereinto inſerted this which followeth.

A Confutation of Platos Commonweale, who therein ordained, that among fellow Citizens, both goods, wiues, and children ſhould be common, and that no man ſhould haue any thing proper or particuler: Alſo of the ſect of the Nicholaites, who in the primitiue church reuiued the ſaid error: As likewiſe, euen in our daies (I cannot conceiue by vvhat diueliſh inſtigation) ſome haue endeuoured alſo to

raiſe

raiſe again the ſaid error of Plato, concerning the cõmunication of temporall goods, vviues, and children. And albeit Ariſtotle in the ſecond of his Commonvveale hath no leſſe learnedly then eloquently confuted the ſaid error, yet ſome (to vvhom all publicke tranquility is odious) doe ſeeke by ſundry reaſons (more apparant then forcible) to approue, That among Chriſtians nothing ought to be proper or priuate, but that among them, both goods vviues and children ought to be common; to the end, the rather too root out all humane affections, vvhich are more vehement in the behalfe of vviues and children, then of any other thing: likevviſe, that no commonvveale can be of any continuance, vnleſſe the citizens affections be rooted out; vvhich can neuer be done, ſo long as vviues, children, and goods, bee priuate and particular. This error is of no ſmal importance, for vvere it not eſpecially aboue all other errors ſuppreſſed, it could not but ſtirre vp Popular ſedition, and breed the ſubuerſion of euery cõmonvveale. Novv, among all other principles that confute this error, this is one: As the lavvfull diuiſion of goods, and the forme of marriage be the ordinance of God (as it is euident) likevviſe, that Gods ordinance may not by any humane counſell be altered or changed; ſo it

followveth,

followeth that the diuiſion, as vvell of goods, as of vviues and children, is immutable, and conſequently the community of goods, wiues, and children, is a matter directly repugnant to the ordinance of God, and conſequently reproueable. Such as take the vpholding of gouernments to be the ſole vvorke of man, are greatly deceiued, for of neceſsity they are to beleeue that the ſame proceedeth from the diuine counſel & prouidence, without the which neither the round frame of the vvorld, neither any city can poſsibly continue.

Moreouer, *Ariſtotle* in the place aboue mentioned prooueth the communitie of goods, vviues and childrē, to be repugnant to nature, and conſequently neither receiueable, neither tollerable, and ſo proued by Experience, the mother of knowledge. Neither can vve find by any credible Authour, Iew, Grecian, Latiniſt, or Barbarian, that this politicke inſtitution of Plato, vvas euer by any Nation accepted, (I meane as concerning community of vviues or children) neither vvas there euer ſuch a Commonweale (as *Plato* in his conceit forged in the name of *Socrates*) put in practiſe, but vvas rather imaginatiue then reall; as by ſimilitude the like vvee may ſay of the ſame Commonweale vvhich Sir *Thomas More* deſcribeth in

his Vtopia. Againe, vvere goods common, we ſhould thereof reape many inconueuiences; among the reſt, vve ſhould ſee an infinite multitude of idle and ſlothfull vvretches born into the vvorld, as *Horace* ſaith, only to deceiue and vvaſt the goods of the earth vvithout labor, feed and cloth themſelues vvith the goods of thoſe that vvith the ſweat of their brovves and vexation of mind, do daily get their liuings, vvhileſt the ſaid idle drones vvould looke to be fed and clothed out of the common purſe, contrary to all laws both of God and man; vvhich do command vs in the ſvveat of our brovves, that is, in the labour of our bodies, to eat our bread. The kingly Prophet crieth out, ſaying, Thou ſhalt eat the labors of thy hands, O vvell is thee, and happy ſhalt thou be. S. *Paule* a veſſel of election, vvas not aſhamed to ſay, that in preaching the goſpell he had not ben chargeable or troubleſome to any: For vvhatſoeuer vvas needfull for the ſuſtentation of him and his family, hee had earned it vvith the labor of his hands, as vve may ſee in the Acts of the Apoſtles. Likevviſe, vvere vvomen and children common, vve ſhould find innumerable inconueuiences in the Commonvveal, among many vvhich vvould be too long to be ſpoken of, this ſhould not be the leaſt, cõſidering that nature brings forth both men and

vvomen,

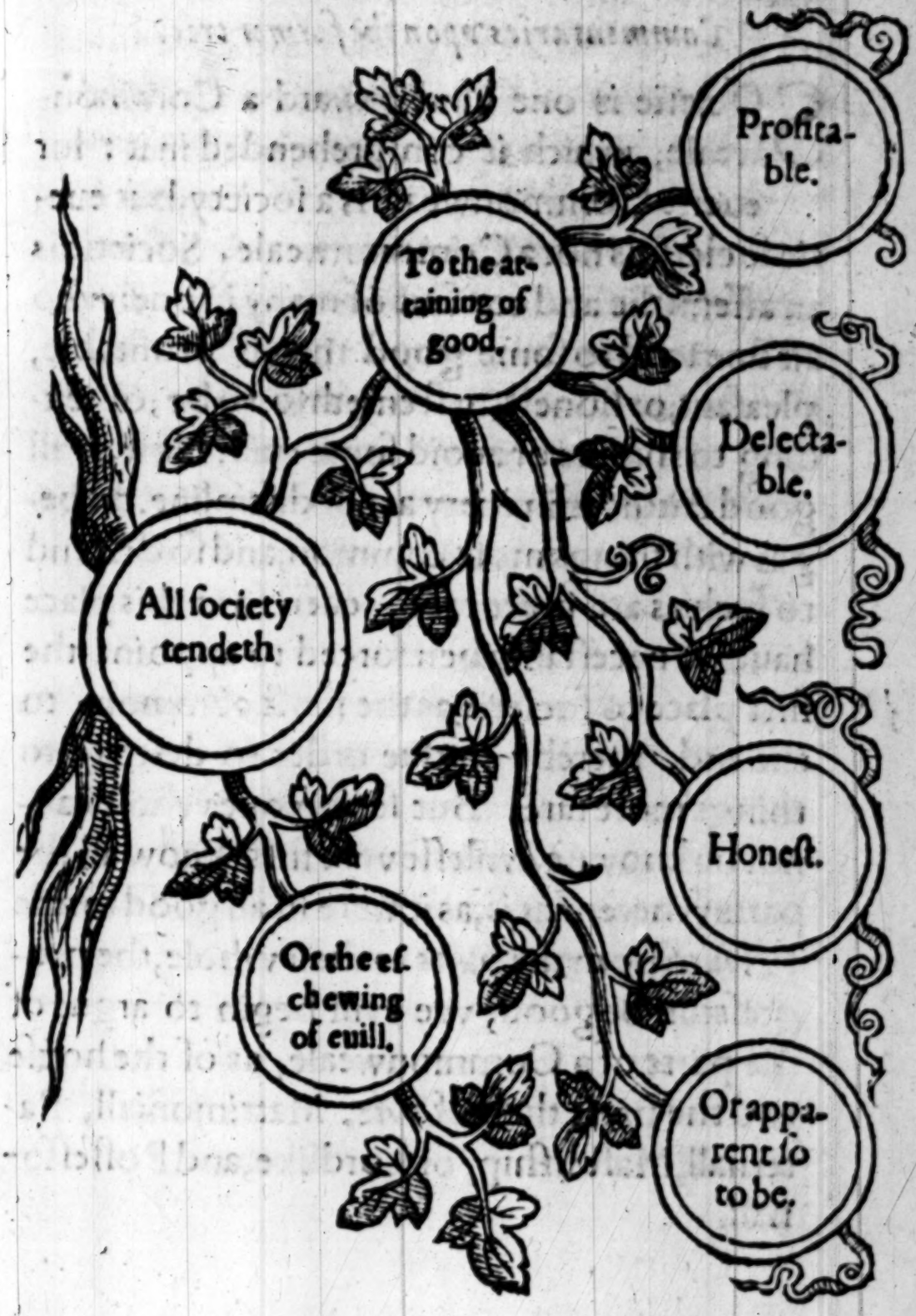
vvomẽ, some fairer then other some, according to the saying of *Homer* concerning Achille and Thersites, euery man for the satisfying of his lusts, vvould seize vpõ the faireſt, euẽ by the instinct of nature, vvhich doth inclineus thereunto, vvhereof vvould ensue sedition, batterie, and murder, vvith the disturbance of all publicke tranquility, which disturbance subuerteth all ciuile society. For (as *Salust* saith) by concord small things doe increase and grow great, but by discord great thinges are diminished and brought to naught. Besides, vvere vviues common and vncertaine, the children of them begotten must also be vncertaine, and so vvould no man take care to feed, cloth, or bring them vp in any discipline or art, either liberall or mechanicall: The reason, no man could thinke those children to be of his own begetting, neither could any man beare any assured fatherly affection to an vncertaine child. Besides, vvere not naturall reason sufficient to confute this error, yet is it confuted by the vvord of God in these vvords: Man shall forsake father and mother, and cleaue to his vvife. This vvord doth note a peculiar property, vvhich is repugnãt to all community. For that vvhich is mine, is not another mans, and that vvhich is another mans, is not mine. Againe, as vvell in the Decalogue,

logue, as in the Gospel, Adulterie is forbidde; but in common women there cannot properly be any Adulterie: For adulterie is where one man doth carnally know another mans wife, but where women are common, they belong not rather to one then to another. Moreouer, the law of God, as also the Gospell, doe command vs to obey our superiors and Magistrats, but it is well knowne, that Princes and Magistrates doe allow perticularity of goods, wiues, and children. It doth therefore follow, that cõmunitie of goods, wiues, and children, is contrarie to the ordinance of God, for the holy decree saith, God deliuereth to mankind all humane Lawes, by Emperors and rulers of the world. But what need we any further proofes, Almighty God by his commandement in the Decalogue, forbiddeth the robbing of our neighbour; according to which commaundement euery man is to be cõtent with that which is his own. God then in the same words approueth the perticular propriety of goods, so long as they be lawfully gotten. Were goods as cõmon to one as to another, there could bee no theft, sith euery man hath a share or interest, & no man can steale that is his owne. For theft is the purloining of that which is another mans, against the owners wil. For farther cõfirmation

of

of our words: The land of promiſe vvas diuided to the children of Iſraell, Gods choſen people by his owne commandement, and to euerie tribe vvas his portion limitted, and euery one enioyned to be contented vvith his owne bounds and limits, as appeareth in the book of *Ioſua*. God therefore doth approue propriety of goods, and reproueth communitie of the ſame. Had it been Gods will that his people ſhould haue liued in community of goods, vviues, and children (according to Platos Cõmonweale) he would neuer haue commanded the holy land to be diuided, neither haue cauſed any perticular diſtribution to haue beene made to the twelue Tribes. This error vvas raiſed in the Apoſtles time by an Arch-hereticke, called Nicholas of Antioch, vvho taught, that among Chriſtians, both goods, vviues, & children ought to be common: He, to ſet others an example, imparted his vvife to all that liſt, albeit ſhe were both yong and fair: but that error did the Apoſtles condemne, and the ſectaries therof were tearmed Nicholaites, of the naine of their founder, called Nicholas. Of theſe Nicholaites doe the Apoſtles make mention, vvhere vve may plainely read, that God commended the Angell for hating the Nicholaites. Now, to end this matter, theſe diſturbers of common

trãquility ought to berooted out, as rottẽ mẽbers out of euery politick body. For in ſeeking to innouate the courſe of mans life, ſo manie ages obſerued, they tend only to ſtir vp ſedition in cities, to make ſubiects reuolt from their princes, and to incenſe the rude and mutinous communalty againſt Magiſtrates; neither doe they aime at any other matter. The Orator Demoſthenes reporteth, that the Locrians obſerued one law, which imported, that if any Citizen of the ſaid Commonvveale intended to bring in any law, cõming to propound it publickly to the people, he muſt come vvith a halter about his necke, to the end that if the people could not admit his new law, he might preſently be ſtrangled in recompence of his preſumption: This rigour vvas decreed, to the end to preuent the alteration of their laws & courſe of life, for that euery alteration endangereth the ſtate of the Commonweale. Herodotus ſaith, That he is a mad man that will ſeek to alter the laws, and to change his courſe of life. The Wiſe man in his Eccleſiaſticus ſaith, The adder ſhall ſting him that breaketh the hedge: vvhich the doctors doe expound to concerne thoſe that ſeek to diſſolue ancient lawes and cuſtomes.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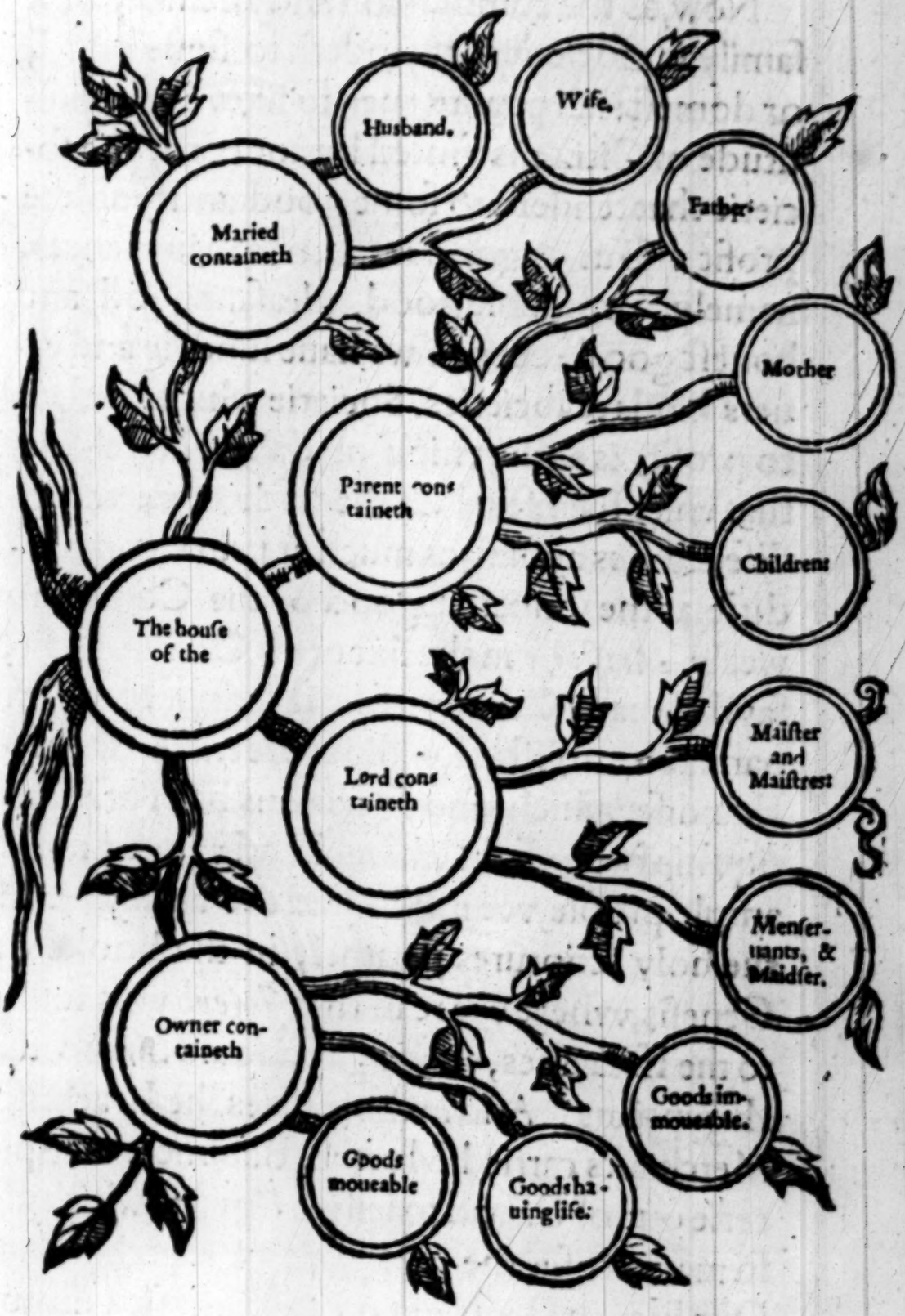
of euill.
Or appa-
rent ſo
to be.

Commentaries vpon the former tree.

SOcietie is one kind toward a Commonweale, vvhich it comprehended in it: for euerie Commonweale is a ſociety, but euerie ſocietie is not a Commonweale. Societie is an aſſemblie and conſent of many in one: vvho all doe tend to ſome good that is profitable, pleaſant, or honeſt, or ſeemeth ſo to be; or tending to ſhunne or auoid ſome euill. Now, as all good Authors in euery art or diſcipline, do begin with things moſt common, and ſo deſcend to ſuch as are more rare; euen ſo in this place haue we neceſſarily ben forced to appoint the firſt place to ſocietie, as the moſt common; to the end, thereby in due order to deſcend to things more rare. But ſeeing one vvhole cannot be knowne, vnleſſe vvee firſt know all the parts vvhereof it is, as it were in all good forme to learn from the parts to their vvhole, the progreſsion be good, vve vvill begin to argue of the parts of a Commonweale, as of the houſe and the parts thereof, *viz.* Matrimoniall, Paternall, Maſterſhip, or Lordlike, and Poſſeſſoriall.

The Mirrour of Policie.



Now, as the communion and aſſembly of a family, is a ſocietie that tendeth to ſome good, or domeſticall profite, euen ſo likevviſe a multitude of Citizens vnited by concord, is a ſocietie that tendeth to ſome good and publike profit. But as good is taken in many ſences, namely, profitable good, pleaſant good, and honeſt good; euen ſo we haue ſundrie and diuers kinds of ſocieties. Societie which tendeth to profit, is as the vnion of diuers Merchants that vnite themſelues in the trade of merchandiſe, alwaies aiming as much at priuat commoditie, as the vniuerſall good of the Commonweale. *Ariſtotle* in the ſixt of his Cõmonweale, ſayth, that a Commonweale cannot bee in all parts accompliſhed, without the trade of Merchandiſe, vvhich among nations hath of all antiquitie bene vſed: whereof, had vve not more ample proofe, vve might find the antiquitie in the holy ſcriptures, namely in the booke of Geneſis, vvhere vve read that *Joſeph* vvas ſould to the Iſmaelites, vvho againe ſould him to the Ægyptians. And in thoſe daies the Iſraelitiſh Merchants carried Myrrhe, Baulme, and Spicerie out of Galaad to ſell in Ægypt; which alſo may teſtifie the antiquitie of Merchandiſe. Our French Gentrie vvoulde thinke it a diſhonour to their Nobilitie to deale vvith the trade

of

of merchandiſe, as accounting it to bee a baſe exerciſe: but the Italian Nobilitie can make vſe of it, as alſo can the kings of Portugal, vvho by their trade of merchandiſe haue diſcouered vnto vs ſundrie Regiõs vnknown to the auntient Geographers, ſcituat vnder the Pole-Arctike, vvhich is to vs continually hidden, as vvee may read in ſundry books of the Portugals voiages. Yet (as one matter drawes on another) I cannot like of certaine Noblemen Gaſcogns, Albigeois, and Auragues (vvhoſe names for their honours I do conceale) that becomming merchants of graine, doe hoord it vp vntill it grow very deere, or that God ſend any barrenneſſe or famine, and then doe they pinch the poore commons at their pleaſure; vvhich cannot be done vvithout a great burthen to their conſciences, or the Scriptures are falſe, vvhich curſe thoſe thate hide vp the Corne to the end to ſell it deere in time of ſcarcitie: the vvordes are not mine, but ſet downe by *Salomon, Prouerbs* 11. The true Societie of Merchants aimeth at the marke of commoditie as vvell priuate as publike. That Societie vvhich tendeth to delight & pleaſure, is the aſſemblie of ſundrie young louers among themſelues, to the end vvith more facilitie to enioy their carnall pleaſures: as vve read in the Fables of the knights of the round

table, or rather the fooleries; for that they containe neither good inuention, nor good diſpoſition, vvhich notwithſtanding many noble perſonages both men and women, haue heretofore fooliſhly ſpent their time, or rather loſt it in the reading of them. But as for the Societie that tendeth to honeſtie, it is the aſſemblie of many ſtudents, vvhich they make for the loue of learning and attaining to knowledge: as did in olde time ſundrie Philoſophers that followed the great *Appolonius Thyaneus*, a Pithagoricall Philoſopher, into India to ſee the Bragmans and Gymnoſophiſts, with the great *Hiarcas* and the table of the Sonne, as wee may ſee in the life of the ſaid *Appolonius* vvritten by *Philoſtratus*.

The like Societie was there among certaine ſtudious perſons, Gauls and Spaniards, vvho vvent from their natiue countries vvith tedious iournies, towards Rome, perſonally to behold the Oratour and moſt excellent Hiſtoriographer Titus Liuius: in vvhome we are to note, that the only fame of a learned man could draw vnto him euen out of far countries, thoſe men vvhom the glorie and magnificence of Rome (at that time the head of the vvorlde) vvas not able to bring. Good God, vvhat zeale, vvhat loue of learning, vvhat reputation of doctrine?

What

What is become of thoſe times? vvhere is that happie age? Such a Societie had Pithagoras vvith him vvhen he vvent to ſee at the Citie of Memphis (vvhich in theſe daies vve cal Alcaire) the Ægyptian Prieſts and Philoſophers, to the end to learne their Religion and Ceremonies. Such and the like Societie had the diuine Philoſopher Plato vvhen he departed from Athens to goe likewiſe into Ægypt, and vvhen he vvent to ſee Architas the Tarentine Philoſopher, and to trauaile through the vvhole region of Italie, in former times named the greater Greece. The like Societie vvas amongſt the Druides, Gauliph Philoſophers, vvho for their learning vvere famous throughout the vvhole vvorld, as Iulius Cæſar in his Commentaries doth report.

Strabo in the fourth booke of his Geographie, ſpeaking of the Druides, ſayth that they had the name to bee moſt Iuſt, yea euen of ſuch integritie, that the deciſion and iudgement of all matters of importaunce, and difficult affairs both priuat and publike, vvere referred to them, neither vvould the Gaules at any time aduenture the hazard of any conflict or Battaile, but by the decree and counſaile of the ſayd Druides.

In this Societie vvere there alſo very many

learned vvomen, of vvhom the Roman emperour *Aurelian* (as *Vopiscus* in his life dooth report) did aske counsaile. These Druides did vsually sacrifice men, and in regard of that crueltie vvere they vtterly abolished and rooted out by the Emperour *Claudius*, as *Tranquillus* in his life doth set downe: howbeit *Plinie* attributeth their destruction to the Emperor *Tiberius*. But if it be vvell considered, vve shal not find any discordance or contradiction herein, for *Claudius* was also called *Tiberius*, as we may proue by the famous historiographier *Iosephus*, vvho in the prescipt forme of Claudius Edict, nameth him Tiberius, saying, *Tiberius, Claudius, Cæsar, Pius, Germanicus, Tribunitiæ potestatis, &c.* Of these Druides doth *Lucan* make mention in his first booke of the Pharsalian warres. But in our daies there is not in Fraunce any memorie or monument of Colledge or habitation of the said Druides, albeit by coniecture of some ruines yet remaining, diuers learned men vvoulde presume that they inhabited a place called *Dreux* in the dioceſſe of Chartres: and to say the truth, the name of the place hath some correspondence with the name Druides. Now if the antient Gauls, into vvhose Monarchie the French haue happily succeeded, gate them a name and perpetuall renowne, through

the

the ſocietie and colledge of the Druides, vvee haue not loſt any part thereof at this preſent, but rather encreaſed the ſame: for throughout the reſt of the vvorld ſhall ye not find ſuch Societies and colleges of learned men as are in Fraunce, namely in the capitall towne and roiall citie of Paris. The moſt learned man Iouian Pontane, albeit an Italian, and one vvho in regard of his honourable place in the Court of his maiſter the king of Naples, was an enemie to the French nation, vvho chalẽged the kingdome, and by force of armes through the conqueſt of king Charles the eight, held it in their poſſeſsion; could not but yeeld this commendation to the French, That in Paris (the capitall citie of France) there vvere (when he wrot his learned books of obedience) ten thouſand ſtudents. This commendation proceeding from the mouth of an enimie to Fraunce, can not incur any ſuſpition: neither are there to be found any ſuch Colleges for the ſtudie of the Laws & Decrees, as in our citie of Tholouze. Pope Clement the fifth, in his Clementines, *tit. De Magiſtris*, mentioneth foure famous vniuerſities, namely Boulogne in Italie, Paris in Fraunce, Salamanca in Spaine, and Oxford in England: yet our Vniuerſitie of Tholouze in the exerciſe of the Lawes and Decrees, and in

number

number of Schollers ſurpaſſeth all the reſt. I vvrite not vpon affection, neither doe I more amplie aduow any thing, for the very euidence of the matter is proofe ſufficient.

Now to proceede in the declaration of our tree: As there is ſome true good, as heretofore vve haue prooued, ſo is there ſome good which beareth only the likeneſſe of good, and is indeed no good; only it beareth the ſhew, as riches gotten by deceipt, theft, vſurie, fraud, &c. alſo as ſuch pleaſures of the fleſh as are not taken in mariage. Likewiſe as many vices cloked and hidden vnder the ſhadow of vertue, as the pilling and polling, briberie and theft, vſed by ſundrie practitioners, ſcriueners, ſollicitors, and other ſuch like plagues of a Commonwealth, vvho vnder pretence of the charges of Law, do rob and ſteale. As likewiſe there is ſome good Societie that aimeth at true and firme good, ſo is there alſo ſome bad ſocietie vvhich aimeth at an apparent but not exiſtent good: as vvhen there is in the Commonweale a congregation or monopoly of ſundrie raſh, headie, fooliſhe, and vnskilfull yoong men: As in Rome, when the children of the nobleſt houſes gathered into a ſocietie and made a monopolie to reſtore into the citie the Tarquines, vvho for their tyrannie togither vvith the violence committed

in

in the perſon of Lucrece, had bene baniſhed and depoſed from the roiall dignitie, as vvee may read in *Titus Liuius* in his firſt Decad, and in *Ouides Faſtes*. Such and the like bad ſocietie had Cateline gathered at Rome, when he conſpired againſt the Commonweale, and Cicero then conſull vvhich is moſt eloquẽtly vvritten by *Saluſt*, of vvhoſe vvorks the iniquitie of the time with the irruption of the Gothes, haue left vs but two ſmall fragments, namely the hiſtory aforeſaid, and the vvarres of Iugurth, but haue defrauded vs of his Annals from the foundation of Rome to his time; by vvhich hiſtory he purchaſed the fame and honoure of the firſt place among all Latine hiſtoriographers, as *Martiall* in his Epigrams doth teſtifie. Such and almoſt the like ſocietie and Monopolie made the noblemen and Romane ſenatours againſt Iulius Cæſar, vnder the conducte of Brutus and Caſsius, two noble men, the chiefe authours of the death of the ſaid Cæſar in the Senat houſe, as *Plutarch* rehearſeth in the liues of Brutus, Caſsius, & Iulius Cæſar: alſo *Tranquillus* in the life of the ſame Cæſar. Howbeit the authours of this ſocietie or monopoly had ſome pretence of reaſon, for that Cæſar had altered the ſtate, vvhich from the depoſing of their kings vntil then, had bene Ariſtocraticall.

But vvhat doe we ſeeke to reuiue the Examples of bad Societies among forraine nations, vvhen we haue as many domeſticall examples to be remembered of all poſteritie. Could any of the former Societies bee more pernicious than the ſame that vvas vvhen I vvas a young man, in this towne, vvhen *Guyot* the captain of the vvatch, vvith his companie that vvatched with him, hauing ſecret intelligence vvith other theeues that lay vvithout the towne, vnder colour of exerciſing his office as vvell vvithin as vvithout the towne, did kill and murther the inhabitants? vvhich plague continued a long vvhile vnknowne, as lying hidden vnder the colour of iuſtice, and concealed vnder the pretence of the night watch: But God (vvho ſomtimes deferreth, to inflict the greater puniſhment) ſuffered their monopolie to be diſcouered, vvhereupon ſeuenteene or eighteen of thē vvere executed by ſundrie ſorts of torments: for ſome vvere torne vvith burning tongues, others quartered aliue, ſome headed, ſome burned, ſome hanged, & one of them named Michaell the Fat, vvas condemned to bee torne in peeces vvith foure horſes. The like death as Metius Suffetius the duke of the Albans ſuffered at Rome by the decree of Tullus king of the Romans, for his treaſon committed in the

battaile

battaile that the ſaid king fought vvith the Fidenates. The like death alſo ſuffered Brunchild queene of France, as our Annals doe report: this terrible execution is ſildome put in practiſe, except vpon ſome heinous offendour. Theſe foure horſes albeit Michaell vvas faſtened vnto them, and long pulled vp and down, vver notable neuertheleſſe to diſmember him, ſo ſtrong, firme, and maſsiue vvas his bodie: vvhereupon the horſes ſeeming too vveake, he vvas quartered and headed, in the yeare of our Lord 1517. Thus vvas our Commonwealth purged of this theeuiſh crue, and the rather by the vigilant, curious, and feruent zeale of the late of good memorie, mounſier Nicholas Bertrand, doctor of the Laws, and aduocat in that parliament, & keeper of the ſeals of this realm: And this I haue ſet downe, to the end to continue the memorie thereof, as of a matter vvhich redoundeth greatly to the honour of him and his poſteritie. Who ſo is deſirous more at large to ſee the proceedings againſt the ſayd offenders, let him read the publike Annals of our citie, vvhere hee ſhall at large finde the whole hiſtorie in the diſcourſe of the yeare aboue-ſayd.

This reprobat and euill Societie comprehẽdeth alſo three members, directly oppoſite to

the three members of a good and true ſocietie, deſcribed in the laſt tree ſauing one. One mẽber of this bad ſocietie is the ſame that is combined vpon ſome apparant good, which notwithſtanding is falſe: ſuch is the ſocitie of ruffians, theeues, pirats, falſe coiners, and ſuch like, vvho thinke the courſe of their life to be good; and that it is a profitable matter to rob & ſteale from others, notwithſtanding all theſt bee by all lawes both of God and man reprooued. An other member of a vvicked ſocietie is the ſame that tendeth to a falſe delectation, as vvel in fornication and adulterie, as in eating drinking and ſleeping, vvhich to the laſciuious and epicures ſeemeth to be good, albeit it contayneth more gaule than honie. The third member of a vvicked ſocietie is this, When the vvicked doe aſſemble vnder pretence or coloure of ſome thing that is both honeſt and good, to the end to make away either one or more honeſt men out of the commonweale, vnder pretence of ſome apparent but not exiſtent honeſtie: ſuch vvas the ſocietie of the Rabbines, Scribes, and Phariſeis at Hieruſalem, vvho vnder colour of zeale to the law of Moſes, prepared the death of our redeemer Ieſus Chriſt. Theſe iij. kindes of a wicked ſocietie, are the ſupplanters of Cõmonweales, vvhich I thought good to ſet forth

at

at large, to the end all politike gouernors may beware of them, as also that in this Mirrour nothing should be omitted that might necessarily concerne the good gouernment of a Citie.

Commentaries vpon the Tree last described.

THe House, according to our argument, is the societie and communion of life, of the Husband & the Wife, the maister and the seruant, for a dayly commoditie: and this house thus described, is simple, yet absolute & complete, if the Children be therin contained. The parts of the House are the Children, the Seruants, & the Owner. Of these, some are free, as the father, the mother, and the children: others seruants; and in place vvhere bondage is admitted, bondmen: but in this noble and free kingdome vvherein bondage is vnknown, the seruants both male and female are free and not bond, yea albeit they come out of other countries bondmen, vvhich is a course of great antiquitie, and said to bee one of the chiefe points of the Salick Law established by Pharamond. Moreouer, the parts of the House are Coniugall or Matrimoniall, Paternall or of the Parent, Seigniorall or Lordly, and Possessoriall.

The Coniugal or Matrimonial containeth the Husband and the Wife: the Paternall or Parent, containeth the Father the Mother & the Children. The Seignioral or Lordly, the Menseruants, and the Maydseruants. The Possessorial or owner, the Mooueables, Immooueables, and that mooue of themselues.

Now let vs proceed to the declaration of euery particular, according to our accustomed method.

The Husband and the Wife.

IN all Disciplines, if vvee list vvell to consider it, vve find that vve beginne vvith the meanest parts thereof. Gramer taketh her beginning from the letters, thã the which there is nothing more meane or simple: Logicke hath her originall from the two least parts thereof, the Nowne and the Verbe: Geometrie hath her beginning from a point: Arithmeticke taketh her originall from the Vnitie, vvhich the Greeks terme One: Musicke from the Sound and halfe sound, the least parts thereof. Why then should not vvee, speaking of a ciuile Societie & a Citie, begin vvith the least parts therof, namely, the parts of a house, wherof Cities take their essence? But in the house

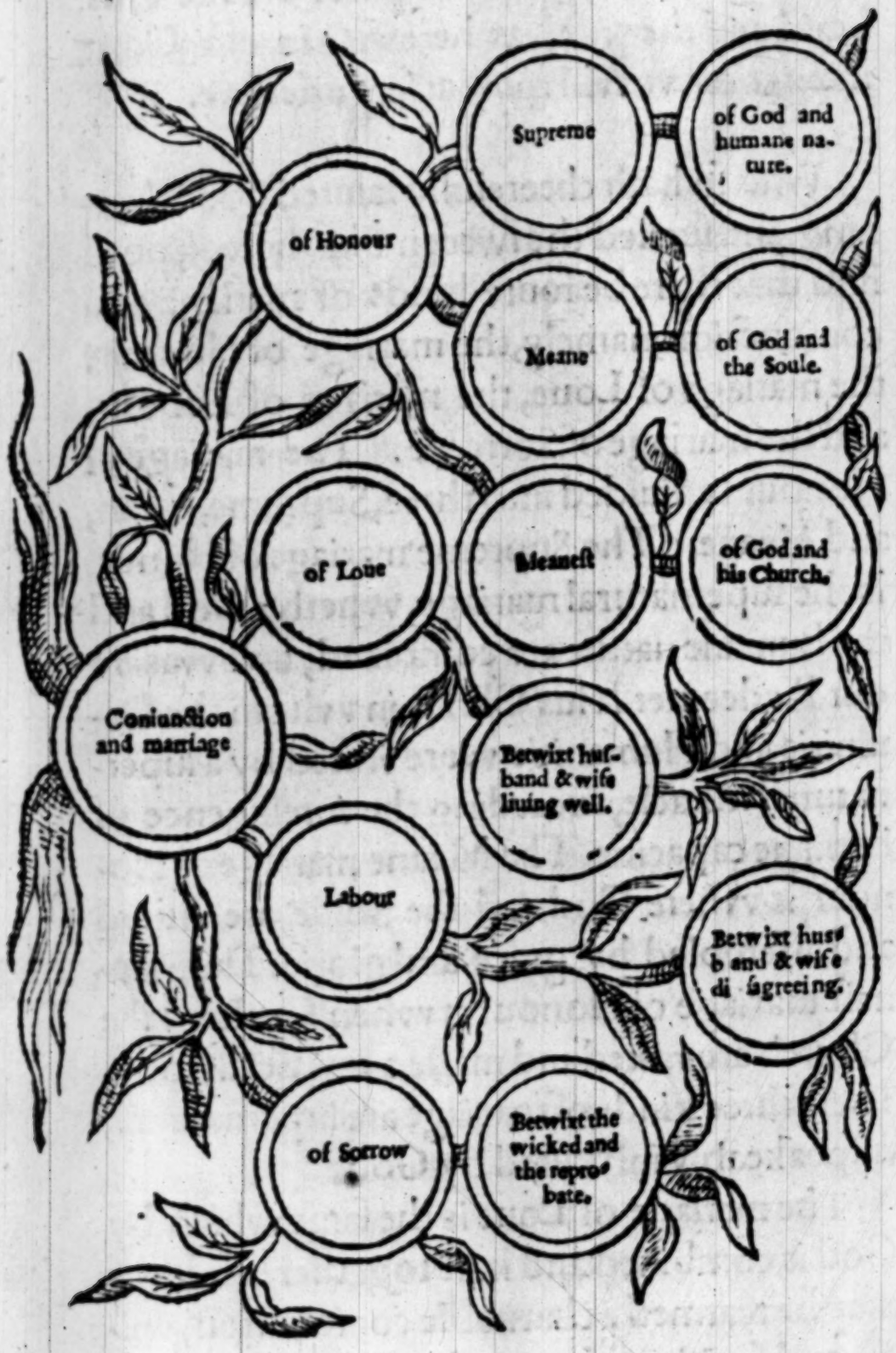
and

and firſt ſocietie, the leaſt parts are the Husband and the wife, as hereafter in our Commentaries vve vvill more at large declare.

Who ſo hath cheerefully ſaluted good learning, and ſucked the ſweet milke thereof, doth find that there be foure kinds of mariage and conionction, namely, the mariage of Honour, the mariage of Loue, the mariage of Labour, and the mariage of Sorrowe. The mariage of Honour is diuided into three, Supreme, Mean, and Meaneſt. The Supreme mariage of Honor, is the ſupernatural mariage, vvherby God and the humane nature are combined, as it vvas in our Redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, in vvhom the Diuinitie and Humanitie vvere vnited by a ſupernaturall miracle, exceeding the intelligence of humane capacitie. The Meane mariage of Honour, is vvhere God and the Soule are vnited and aſſembled by grace and glorie. The Meaneſt mariage of Honour is vvhen God and the Church are vnited and made a myſticall body. Theſe three kinds of mariage are ſupernaturall, vnſpeakeably inſtituted by God.

The mariage of Loue is the ſame vvhich by God is combined and knit together: and this may be tearmed a charitable conionction, vnitie, and ſocitie of the good, vvhich is vvrought

by


Supreme
of God and humane nature.
of Honour
Meane
of God and the Soule.
of Loue
Meanest
of God and his Church.
Coniunction and marriage
Betwixt husband & wife liuing well.
Labour
Betwixt husband & wife disagreeing.
of Sorrow
Betwixt the wicked and the reprobate.

by grace peace and concord. Of this kind of mariage of Loue, is the mariage of an honeſt man and of an honeſt woman, ſuch as is moſt neceſſarie for the preſeruation and propagation of mankinde, and conſequently of euerie commonwealth. The man and vvoman thus maried are to loue reciprocally, and to make themſelues one bodie aud one fleſh: for albeit there vvere no law of God or man to induce vs hereunto, euen the brute beaſts vvould teache vs the vvay, if vve could but learne to knowe it. Some beaſts there are that by their naturall inſtinct doe obſerue their mariages, that is, their ſociall combination. *Solinus* a famous authour, and latelye digeſted into good order by the learned *Camerarius*, in his Polihyſtorie reporteth, that the Storkes doe in Faith obſerue the loialtie of mariage, and puniſh adulterie. *Geruaiſe* a Hiſtoriographer, in his booke of Imperiall vacations, reporteth that it hath ben ſeene that a ſtorke committed adulterie, and that hir male taking her vvith the maner, vvent & made his complaint to a number of his owne kinde, vvho thereupon comming all together, tare in peeces the ſtorke that had committed the adulterie. Wherin vve are to note that the puniſhment of adulterie hath bene taken from ſuch creatures, and the originall thereof from the

lawes of God. In Deuteronomie & Exodus it doth appeare that by the law of Moſes adulterers were ſtoned, but that rigour doth not our lawes obſerue, for vvere it to bee obſerued in theſe daies, vve ſhould not find ſtones enow to fulfill it. The buſineſſe and duties between man and vvife ought to bee diuided, yea euen after the example of Fouls, amongſt vvhome the Female taketh the charge and keepeth the neaſt, hatcheth the egs & feedeth the chickens, whilſt the male goeth abroad to purchaſe food. After the example (I ſay) of Fouls ought the husbād and vvife reciprocally to loue and ſuccour ech other; to keepe their vowed faith, and to helpe and relieue each other. the vvife to take the ouerſight of the huſwiuerie vvithin doores, euen of thoſe things that are moſt fit and conuenyent for her kind, as to ſpinne, vvorke vvith the needle, waſh, ſuckle and feed the children, correct and direct the maidſeruants, keep account of the linnen and houſhold ſtuffe, haue an eye to the garner, ſeller, and other houſhold prouiſion, ſtill to keepe her ſelfe in the ſtate of an honeſt vvife, ſildome out of her husbands dores, not (as the Preachers tearme it) to run on pilgrimage to a Trotters Feaſt: neither to gad vp and downe to Feaſts and banquets: for as a crazed Barke is not ſafe to traffique the great

ſeas;

ſeas, but may vvell ſerue neare the ſhore or in the hauen, ſo long as ſhe keepeth neere home: euen ſo a yong vvoman is in greater danger of her chaſtity among company at Feaſts & banquets, than ſhe ſhould be in hir owne houſe, as I haue more largely ſhewed in my Moroſophie in theſe verſes, vvhich as fitting this place, and containing much ſence in few vvords, I haue here inſerted:

The craſed ſhip to wrecke is thrall,
When without ſence we force it flote:
Likewiſe the wife in Pilgrims ſtall,
More ſafe at home, all men will note.

Of this mariage and combination in Loue, ſpake the vviſe Iew his in Eccleſiaſtes, ſaying: Three things are allowed before God & man, Agreement of brethren, Loue among neighbours, and the husband and the vvife that liue at vnitie. And to ſay the truth, Mariage vvell and duly obſerued, euen that mariage vvherein the husband and the vvife doe feare God, and keepe Faith ech to other: vvherin (as as is ſayd) the vvife ordereth vvell all that belongeth to her ſex, is one of the greateſt benefits, yea euen the ſoueraigne felicitie of this terreſtrial vvorld, vvherupon the ſcripture alſo ſayth, That happy

is that man that hath a good vvife: vvherin vve are to note, that this vvas not in vaine ſpoken to Raguell (as appeareth in *Toby*, the ſeuenth chapter) This man that feareth God is to thy daughter due.

Another kind of mariage is called the mariage of Labour: and in our daies is this kind of mariage in greater & more vſuall practiſe than any other, vvherein many (yea almoſt infinite) doe marrie for Couetouſneſſe but not for Vertue, neither for chaſtitie or any good report, either of maid or vvife. *Plautus* the Comical poet ſaith, That he that liſt to marrie, ſhould take his vvife by the eares, and not by the fingers: that is, for her good report; not for her golden dowrie, vvhich is counted by the fingers, as I haue ſayd in my Theatre. *Licurgus* the great Lawmaker of the Lacedemonians, did in his Lawes eſtabliſh, that in his Commonwealth neither maidens nor vvomen ſhould haue any dowrie: and this he did to the end that Vertue might bee preferred before Riches: and not vvithout great reaſon, for that Commonweale vvherein Riches are preferred before Vertue, cannot loug continue. Whereof vve haue a notable example in the Romane commonwealth which flouriſhed ſo long as Vertue was prefer-

red

red before Riches. In theſe daies (ſaith *Hugo* of S. Victors) mariages are not made for Continencie, but for Fornication; neither vpon hope of Iſſue, but in regard of Monie. In this ſence are ſuch mariages vvorthily tearmed, The mariages of Labour. He that taketh a vvife for vvealth, ſelleth his Libertie and putteth on intollerable Bondage: as the Satyricall poet ſeemeth to haue tried, vvhen hee ſayd that there is nothing more intollerable then a riche vvife. Where there is inequalitie of vvealth betweene the husband and the vvife (eſpecially vvhen the husband is poore and the vvife rich) the mariage vvill be alwaies full of ſtrife, neither vvill they euer vvell agree, as the ſayd Satyrical Poet hath moſt learnedly declared, ſaying:

Of man and wife, the lawful bed
wherin they ought to reſt,
Can neuer ſcape from blame or ſhame,
when Diſcord Peace can wreſt.

Gorgias the ſoueraigne Orator (of vvhome *Cicero* maketh moſt honourable mention in ſundrie places) heretofore exhorted the Greeks to peace and concord, in a vvoonderfull cunning Oration that he made: vpon the deliuery vvhereof, one *Melanthus* in preſence of all the

Aſsiſtants ſayd, My lords and maiſters, behold here *Gorgias* vvho vvith his eloquent Oration laboureth to exhort vs to concord vvho are an infinit number of people, yet can he not plead ſo vvell as to perſuade peace in his owne houſe, vvherin there are no more but himſelfe, his wife, and his maidſeruant, who are but three in all, for they are alwaies at ſtrife and continuall debate; and therefore (my lords) I take it to be a great preſumption in him to exhort vs to concord, vvhich himſelfe cannot procure in his owne priuat Familie. By this hiſtorie (gentle Reader) thou art to note that *Gorgias*, vvho by his eloquent ſpeech and diſcretion, thought himſelfe able to appeaſe the ſedition of a whole realme, could not neuertheleſſe by any meanes keepe his vvife and one onely ſeruant in order. Moreouer *Licurgus* being demaunded, Why in his Lawes he had ordained that in his citie women and maidens ſhould haue no dowrie? To the end (ſayd he) that pore maids and vvidows ſhould not be reiected for their pouertie, neyther the rich taken for their vvealth. *Martia*, a noble Roman vvidow, being demaunded vvhy ſhe married not againe, conſidering ſhee vvas both rich, and in the flower of her youth, anſwered, Becauſe I cannot find any man that loueth my perſon more then my vvealth; indeed

if I could light vpon him that loued mee more then my goods, I could be cõtent to take him. This discreet answer of this ladie, sheweth that mariages made for couetise, are indeed mariages of Labour. *Marius* a Romane, asked *Metellus* (also a noble Roman) wherfore he would not marrie his daughter, considering shee vvas both beautiful, of a staid countinance, in speech eloquent, of a noble race, rich in dowrie, happie in good report, and adorned vvith vertue: to vvhome *Metellus* shaped this answer, I doe not refuse your daughter for any euill that is in her, but for that I had rather be my owne than hirs. Nowe vvill I leaue it for thee to thinke at vvhat marke he leuelled that arrow.

The fourth kind of mariage, is the mariage of Sorrow, vvhich is no other but the combination of the Wicked and Reprobat: this cõbination, is tearmed of Sorrow, vvhich falleth (as the Prophet saith) in the heads of the vvicked and reprobat.

By the premisses haue vve now expounded the last tree: proceeding in our commentaries of the parts of the house Matrimoniall, and the title vvherein it is vvritten Husband and Wife, and not to frustrat the honor of mariage: in the iust commendation therof we are to note, that

among

among many things that make mariage ſo excellent; firſt vve haue the antiquitie of the originall thereof, vvhich vvas euen in the beginning and immediatly after the creation of all other things; withall, the continuance thereof throughout the degrees of al former ages, euen to this preſent; likewiſe the common conſent and approbation of all Nations, vvhether Hebrewes, Greeks, Latines, or Barbarians. Is it poſsible that that vvhich our good and moſte mightie God hath inſtituted, and by his diuine & vnſpeakable prouidēce eſtabliſhed, ſhould be other but moſt good, moſt great, and moſt excellēt? Is it poſsible that the ſpring & fountaine of all goodneſſe, ſhould yeeld any thing that were not good, yea euen in all ſupreme degree of goodnes? Is it poſsible that that which is eſtabliſhed by the lawes of GOD and man ſhould be other than iuſt and worthie obſeruation? Scarce had God created the firſt man, but he deuiſed to giue him a vvife as a louing companion and comfort to his life, and vvithal performed it: For vvith God to deuiſe is to doe, and to do is to deuiſe. Will and Power are with man far aſunder; but vvith God Will is Power, and Power is Will. God therefore would create vvoman, yet not of earth, neither of any other ſtrange ſubſtance, but euen of the Rib of

man,

man, that so she might be the neerer vnto him, more agreeable and conioined, as borne and extract out of his own bodie. All other the mysteries of our religion (albeit they be all diuine and holy) vvere ordained for the preseruation and amendment of man, after hee had alreadie sinned; but this mysterie did God find out for the production of mankinde, and the lawfull propagation of nature, and that in the time of innocencie. For before that man had sinned, this mysterie vvas ordained to giue vs birth; but the rest after the Fall, to raise vs again: now so much as our birth is greater then our rysing againe, and the office than the remedie, euen so much is this mysterie greater and of more excellence then all the rest. Againe, the other mysteries vvere not receiued of all men, but this mysterie of mariage hath bene receaued of all nations vvith a like consent, albeit diuersly in ceremonies. Besides, mortall men considering the holinesse & necessitie of this mysterie, haue studied to beautifie and enrich it vvith all sorts of myrth and delights, as songs, daunces, Musicke in sundrie sorts, assembly of kinred, meeting of Friends, banquets, feasts, iewels, rings, rich garments, gorgeous attire, masques, tragedies, commedies, vvhich vve commonly terme Plaies, and such like pastimes betokening ioy

and ſoueraigne delectation. Neither is there any nation vnder the cope of heauen, howſoeuer barbarous or deuoid of ciuilitie, but at mariages and nuptiall feaſts vvill reioice and bee merrie. Let vs read or call to mind the nuptiall ſonges both of the ancient and newe Poets, Greeks and Latines, and vve ſhall diſcerne the great cunning that they vſed in the beautifieng and enriching of their mariages, and yeelding the feaſts pleaſaunt. With vvhat eloquẽce hath *Catullus* vvritten the nuptiall ſong of Mallius and his vvife Iulia ? With vvhat a grace hath *Claudian* compoſed the nuptiall ſongs of the Emperour Honorius and the princeſſe Marie his vvife ? of the prince Palladius and Seraine his vvife ? With vvhat grauitie and heroicall magnificence did *Papinius* vvrite the Nuptiall ſong of the poet Stella and Violentia ? But aboue all the nuptiall ſongs of the Latines in the opinion of the learned, that vvas moſt highlye eſteemed vvhich *Galien* the Romane emperor compoſed at the mariage of a young prince, his kinſman, as vvell for the inuention as diſpoſition thereof, which is ſo much the more to be admired as it containes but 3 Exameter verſes, vvhich alſo deſeruing to be imparted to the wiſer ſort, as alſo for that it is rare, and beſides will be ſoone read ouer, I haue hereinto inſerted it:

Ite simul (iuvenes) pariter fudate medullis
Omnibus inter vos, non murmura vestra colũbæ
Brachia non hæderæ, non vincant oscula conchæ.

Not long before our time the learned *Philip Beroaldus* at the mariage of the lord Bentiuole of Bologne the fat, composed a nuptiall song most eloquent.

Againe, let vs consider of the name of this mysterie, vvhich is called Matrimonie, and vvee shall find it to be a name of great honor, pietie, and reuerence; the rather if vvee marke vvhat names are attributed to the vnlawfull worke of the flesh, which are in sound most harsh & dishoneſt, as rape, inceſt, adulterie, fornication, & such like. What name of greater honour could be attributed to a new maried wife, than to entitle her, The mother of a Familie. Are there any names of more reuerence among men, than the names of Father and Mother? of Mother, I say, conioined to her husband by lawfull consent, wherby he is Father? In the Lords praier vve cal God our Father, becauſe we cãnot giue him any name of greater excellencie, either of greater reuerence among mankind. She that is a mother vvithout the lawful ceremonie of mariage, is vnworthy so honorable a title, only she

is truly to be honoured vvith that name, vvhich can aduouch a true father in mariage. The lawyer ſayth that he is to be reputed the true ſame, vvhich is ſo declared by Matrimonie or lawfull mariage. Shee is the true mother that conceaueth her children vvithout blemiſh, vvithout offence to God, vvithout obloquie or reproch to parents or kinred, and finally without doing iniurie to any. This Myſterie hath obtained the title of Matrimonie, to the end that children may vvithout doubting call her mother vvhich hath conceaued them, and him that hath ingẽdered them (in all reuerence) Father, and ſo acknowledge as vvell the one as the other vvithout reproch of ſinne. But how many examples may vvee produce in this diſcourſe, to prooue that among all nations all carnall copulation of man and vvoman, if not comprehended vvithin the lawfull bounds of Matrimonie, hath bene reprooued? Albeit the ancient Arabians and Troglodites, yea and the firſt inhabitants of great Britaine, now called England, had their vvomen common, ſeparated only by Famelies, yet did they moſt ſeuerely puniſh as vvell men as vvomen, that companied vvith any out of their Familie. The ancient Indians, not content vvith one vvife, tooke many, ſome dedicated to their pleaſures, others to generation and propagation

pagation of their line: and there the husbands did vse to giue monie to the vviues parents, not to take any: vvhich the Cantabers (a people of Spaine) did also in old time. The Germanes, vvhome vvee commonly call Almains, vvere vvoont to appoint to their vviues a dowry, not to receiue any from them or their parents. And as concerning the punishment of adultery, they vsed therein as great seueritie as the former, for the punishment vvas death. The Ægyptians (vvho boast themselues to be the first men in the vvorld, as the Geographers doe reporte) gaue vnto the men that committed adultery so many stripes, that they might shew a thousand vvounds vpon the bodie; and for the vvomen, they cut off their noses: the reason, The nose is the member vvhich doth most beautifie or deforme the face, and the beautie of a vvomans face is the cause to commit adulterie: and therfore cutting off the harlots nose, they tooke from her the beautie vvhich vvas the cause of the offence, and so shee vvent vvith a deformed face in vvitnesse of her trespas committed. We find in some ancient authors, that in the East there is a certaine nation vvhere all are married but their king, vvho by their law is forbidden to marrie: but vvith this priuiledge, that he may chuse any of his subiects vviues vvhom hee list,

to vſe at his pleaſure, and then ſend her home againe to her husband: and ſhee vvhome the king doth moſt ſend for, is accoũted the moſt honourable and glorious: otherwiſe amongſt thẽſelues they keepe their mariage inuiolably. Among the Taxilles, a nation of Aſia, whẽ they had any poore maidens to marrie, certain cenſors to that purpoſe deputed, vvith Trumpets, drums, and greate pompe of muſicall inſtruments, brought them to the common market, and there ſtripped them, and ſuch of the aſsiſtance as beſt liked them tooke them to their vviues, and ſo kept them inuiolably and vvithout adulterie. The Affricans had certaine Magiſtrats called Triumuiri and prouoſts of Mariages, men of approoued grauitie, vvho had in charge to bring the maidens that vvere mariageable into the market, & by a crier to make proclamation to ſee who would haue thẽ, and ſuch as had once accepted of thẽ, durſt not for their liues leaue them. The Babilonians ſent their daughters to the Innes, where it vvas lawfull for the gueſts, for a certaine ſumme of monie, to lie vvith thẽ a certain number of nights, and vvith the monie ſo gotten, did afterwards marrie them. I haue heard (but can hardly beleeue it) that euen in theſe daies in ſome partes of Scotland they do vſe this cuſtome. S. *Hierom*

(a doctor of irreproueable authoritie) reporteth that in his time he ſaw Scots eat mãs fleſh. This barbarous and diſhoneſt cuſtome of deliuering their daughters to bee deſloured, did the Ciprians alſo obſerue.

In Sicill, the Heraclians vſed vpon the mariage daye to bring their Daughters vnto the Sea ſhore, and there habandon thẽ to the luſt of all commers, and the money vvhich came thereof, vvas giuen vnto their husbands: wherin ſhee that had bene moſt abuſed vvas beſt eſteemed: and this abuſe did they tearme, Venus ſacrifice: yet after that, ſpent the reſt of their daies in chaſtitie and ſhamefaſtneſſe with their husbands. Thus vvere the ſayd mariages more honeſtly continued than begun.

Who ſo liſt to inlarge this diſcourſe, might vvrite a great and large volume, but the premiſſes maye ſuffiſe the Reader for the vnderſtanding of the diuers conditions of ſundrye nations, vvho themſelues (each in his kinde) very wiſe, albeit herein they vvere but ſtarke fooles.

Many other Nations I omit, as the Perſians, vvhere the Father many times married the daughter, the ſiſter the brother, and the ſonne the mother: as did alſo heretofore the Ægyptians and Grecians.

But

But in pompe, ceremonies, and decencie of mariage, the ancient Italians ſurpaſſed all other nations, and therfore I doe not thinke it amiſſe ſomewhat to diſcourſe vpon their ancient obſeruations, thereby in fewe vvords to ſmooth the vvay to the plainer vnderſtanding of that vvhich many Philoſophers haue diffuſedly entreated of in ſundry places. Firſt vve are to conſider that they inuiolablye obſerued this cuſtome, neuer to marry their vvidows or daughters by conſtraint, vvherein they agree with our religion, vvhich in mariage vrgeth the conſent of the parties. When the appointed day of mariage vvas come, the bride vvas richly apparailed, her haire ſcattered ouer her ſhoulders, her head enuironed vvith a garlãd of diuers flowers differing both in ſmell and colour, and carried in her hand a branch of Veruine (an hearbe in olde time dedicated to the goddeſſe Lucina) this hearbe Veruin they did hold in ſo great reuerence, that they named it, The holy hearbe; as thinking that in all their ſacrifices and ceremonies it brought good lucke and proſperity, and it vvas vſually gathered in ſome ſacred place. The Ancients did adorne the alters of their gods with ſundrie trees and plants: to Iupiter they dedicated a kind of Oke called Eſculus, to Apollo the Laurell, to Minerua the

Oliue

Oliue tree, to Venus the Mirtle, to Hercules the Poplar, to Bacchus the Yuie, to Pan the Pine-tree, and the Ciprus to Dis the god of hell: all vvhich I haue here ſet downe by the vvay to the end it may ſerue to the vnderſtanding of many poeticall fixions. Before the bride marched her mother, carying in a cofer the ouches, iewels, rings, looking glaſſes, combes, yuorie pins ſeruing to frizle haire, needles, pins, girdles, garters, and all other vvomaniſh ornaments, which in Latine the lawyers doe terme *Mundus mulebris:* called indeed *mundus*, in regard of the cleanneſſe and puritie that ought to adorne euery honeſt vvoman, vvhich alſo, next to her chaſtitie, is the thing that bringeth her into moſt eſtimation: as contrariwiſe ſlutterie and filthineſſe breeds her moſt hatred. For Virgins of honourable houſes, they prouided a chariot drawne vvith vvhite horſes, tearmed Iupiters horſes: vvhich vvhitenes of the horſes betokened as vvell the cleanneſſe of the bodie as the innocencie of the mind, vvhich ſhould adorne euery new married vviſe, vvho ought to be free from euery blemiſh and ſpot of reproch. Thus vvas the bride brought from her fathers to hir husbands houſe: vvherein vve are alſo to note, that ſhee vvas alwaies led through the chiefeſt ſtreets of the citie, not through any by-lanes,

thereby to ſhew that a vvoman muſt alwaies goe the plaine and broad vvay, but neuer ſeeke corners or places, vvhere ſhe may incurre the cõiecture of ſiniſter ſuſpition. Neither did they vſe in all theſe ceremonies, any action vvhich did not demonſtrat ſome token of the chaſtitie and honeſtie that ought to be in euery woman; vvhich al is to be taken myſtically. Moreouer entring into her husbãds houſe, the bride vvas to couer her head and face vvith a vaile, therein to declare, that loſing her freedome, ſhe entered into the ſubiection of her Husband. This ſpeech maketh mee to remember that I haue read in Geneſis that vvhen Iſaac vvent to meet his ſpouſe Rebecca, who vvas comming towards him, ſhe asked of hir guide vvhat hee vvas that came againſt her: vvho told her that it vvas Iſaac her future lord & husband: vvhervpon ſhee couered her vvith her cloke, vvhich vvas not done vvithout ſome ſecret myſterie. Sildome ſhould you haue ſeene married vviues ſhew their haire, or vvalke abroad bareheade, neither is it ſeemely: beſides that, the Apoſtle exhorteth euerie married vvife to couer hir hair in ſigne of ſubiection. Moreouer, the bride caried or cauſed to be carried vvith her, a pannier or basket full of meale, bread, fleſh, cheeſe, and other victuals: thereby to declare, that euerie

mother

mother of a familie, or good houſwife, ſhould carefully attend to the prouiſion of the houſe, and not to tarrie vntill the ſollar be emptye or the ſellar drie: for, according to the prouerbe, It is too late to ſeeke vvealth at the bottome of the ſacke, or vvhen the hogſhead is emptie: but prouiſion muſt be looked for before al be ſpẽt. Again, when ſhe came to the entrie of hir huſbands houſe, before ſhe came ouer the groundſell, her husband vvith both his hands toke her vnder the armes and hoiſted her ſo high, that ſhe ſhould hit the vpper poaſt of the dore with her head, and ſo tooke her ouer that her feete might not touch the groundſell: vvhich ceremonie vvas thought to bee deuiſed to put the bride in mind by the griefe of the blow of her head, that if ſo be that ſhe deſired a good name and to bee accounted an honeſt vvoman, ſhe ſhoulde not gad often out of her Husbands houſe.

The vpper poſt, and the ſide poſtes of the doore, vvere decked vvith garlands of ſundrie flowers, in vvitneſſe of new ioies, and ſign that the Bride depended principallye vppon the honour of her husbands houſe. The daughters of Noblemen vvere apparailed in fine purple, or ſome other coſtly and rich ſtuffe, ſo made that they ſhould not ſhew their breaſts,

or other inward part, for all vvas couered and ſutable to their virginitie: Their lookes vvere ſhamefaſte, concurring vvith the modeſtie of their apparell. Their geſture and pace vvith other their countenances, ſuch as ſhewed their bringing vp to haue bene among honourable perſonages, and in all chaſtetie. At their necks they vvare a iewell hanging in a ribband, to ſignifie that they vvere tied and bound to the ſubiection of their husbands. The bride vvas commonlye accompanied vvith three noble children, of the vvhich one carried a burning torch, vvhich is the Embleme or badge of virginitie: For the veſtall virgins only had the keeping of the ſacred fire dedicated to Veſta the goddeſſe of virginitie. Theſe virgins vvere conſecrated to goddeſſe Veſta, as the nuns in the Romiſh church are to S. Cleer, S Monick, and ſuch like. The other two boſes came to take the bride out of her mothers hands to deliuer her to her husband, vvhich they performed raſhlye vvith tumult, and as it vvere by violence. This ceremonie vvas vſed to put thē in mind of the rape of the Sabine virgines and wiues, vvhome Romulus and his vaſſals had rauiſhed: as you may read in Liuie, Plutarch, and other Hiſtoriographers. This rauiſhment of Virgins & wiues vvas proſperous to the Romans, for by their

fruit-

fruitfulneſſe their commonweale vvas augmented and their citie peopled. Their heads & faces vvere couered, to ſhew alſo that a chaſt woman ſhould not caſt her eye (either amorouſly or laſciuiouſly) vpon any man but her husbād. To their brides they alſo deliuered an yron ring, all round vvithout any ſtone, to put them in remembrance that the Romane Commonwealth vvas growne vp as vvell by the fruitfulneſſe of their vviues, as by the yron in their armour and harneſſe: the roundneſſe of the ring ſhewed, that euerie honeſt vvoman ſhould goe roundly about her buſineſſe vvithout counterfeiting or diſsimulation; beſides, that in a roūd thing ye cannot ſo eaſily hide that thing vvhich might be hidden in a ſquare or cornerd thing, vvhereto the Prouerbe agreeth, that Truth ſeeketh no corners. The Acarnaniens, a people inhabiting beyond mount Taurus, vvoulde not ſuffer any to marrie, before he had preſented his king vvith an enemies head: thereby giuing to vnderſtand that no man vvas to be admitted to marrie before his age ſtrength and heart ſerued him to defend his familie and commonwealth, and to aſſault his enemie. We are alſo to note, that in the celebration of the ſayde Mariages, there might not come any vvidow, how neere ſoeuer of kin; as preſuming her preſence to be

a ſorrowfull and ſiniſter prognoſtication of death, either to the bride or bridegroome. At euery mariage feaſt they killed a Sow, as a preſage of fruitfulneſſe to the newe Bride: for as the mule is the embleme and preſage of barrenneſſe, ſo is the Sow of fertilitie and pluralitie of children, as indeed the ſow is a beaſt very profitable for houſhold. Plinie in the eight booke of his naturall hiſtorie, ſpeaking of the fruitfulneſſe of the Sow, ſayth that ſometimes at one litter ſhe bringeth foorth twentie pigs, albeit ſhe cannot bring vp ſo many. Vpon the Feaſt day alſo they caſt before the doore and about the houſe great ſtore of nuts, in preſage of the children to come, vvhome they hoped to bee begotten in the mariage. Among the Ancients nuts vvere the Embleme of Infancie, becauſe children doe greatly delight in them, either for eating, or play. Of theſe nuts doth Virgil make expreſſe mention in his mariage of Mopſus & Niſa. Others doe attribute to theſe nuts a more morrall ſignification, ſaieng that after a man or vvoman are entered into mariage, he is to conſider that he is paſt a child vvhen hee is able to be a father, and that therefore hee muſt forget all childiſhneſſe, as his play at nuts & ſuch like, and ſo ſhew himſelfe to be a man. The Apoſtle ſayth, When I was a child I ſpake and did as a child,

child,but after I came to mans eſtate, I left off all childiſhneſſe and deeds of infancie. Againe, the bride brought to her husband, or as ſome ſay,the husband broughte to the vvife fire in one hand and water in the other. Concerning the myſtical ſence of this ceremony,ſome haue coniectured that as the communicatiõ of mans life conſiſteth principally in the vſe of theſe two elements,fire & water,ſo can there be no more familiar or vnited communication than of the husband and the vvife:and becauſe fire & water are the embleme of communiõ or communication, in old time baniſhed perſons vvere forbidden fire and vvater, by the forbidding vvhereof,they meant to prohibit them from al communion or familiaritie. Others by this embleme of fire & vvater, haue meant that as they are diametrally contraries,both in the firſt and ſecond qualities,for that the fire is hote & drie and the vvater cold and moiſt, ſo is man naturally hote and drie,and vvoman cold & moiſt. Conſidering therefore the heat and drought of man,and the cold & moiſture of woman,when theſe two contraries are cõioined, they redoũd into a harmonie & temperature of loue. Some expound this embleme, That by the cõtrariety of fire and vvater,vve may vnderſtand the diſſention,muttering & debate that oft times doe

fall

fall out between maried folkes, and that in mariage there is no ſmile vvithout teares, neither reſt vvithout labour, and to ſay the truth, as in mariage there is honie, ſo is there alſo gall: yet is it not ſo in mariage only, but alſo in all vocations in this terreſtriall and ſenſible vvorldly Theatre, vvhere vvee cannot taſt of honie vvithout gaule, neither of ſugar vvithout aloes: And this doth *Homer* giue vs to vnderſtande by the two veſſels that he faineth to ſtand at the entry vnto Olimpus, one full of honie the other of gaule, vvhereof, being mixed togither, Iupiter vvatereth all mankind, as I haue alreadie declared in my Theatre: vvhich alſo the great Philoſopher *Cebes* verie vvell expreſſeth in his table of the Miſerie of mans life. Now becauſe the place here fitteth, I haue here inſerted the verſes, out of Latine:

Why doth this faire and louing wife,
vnto her ſpouſe and Mate,
This fire bring and water both,
which alwaies are at bate?
To ſhew that in the Wedlocke band
betweene the man and wife,
Each ſmile hath tears, each pleaſure griefe,
ſuch contraries are rife.

But it is no maruaile that there should sometimes fall disention betweene the husband & the vvife, vvho are two seuerall bodies, sith in one selfe body the parts are many times at debate. In one selfe vvombe of Rebecca the two brethren and twins, Iacob & Esau, stroue who should come first foorth. Rome coulde not brooke the two brethren twinnes, striuing for the monarchie thereof. The Athenians for the preuenting of such dissentions as might fall out betweene the husband and the vvife; also for the appeasing of such as vvere happened, vsed great prouidence: for in their cõmonweale they established certaine Magistrats, vvhome they named, Reconcilers of the married, whose office it vvas to enquire throughout the Citie, Whether the husband & vviues liued in good accord and amity, and vvhen they heard of any contention betweene them, they vvere to take notice of the right and vvrong, and finally to reconcile and reduce them to accord: vvhereto if they would not vóluntarily condiscend, they vvere to force them either by fine, satisfaction, imprisonment, or otherwise according to the exigence of the obstinacie. The Romanes had not in like case any set officers as the Athenians had: but if any discention happened between the husband and the vvife, the parents of both

parties met in a temple consecrated to the goddesse *Viriplaca*, & there take notice of the right or vvrong, and so finally reconciled them. In the Spartane Commonvveale they had certain set Officers named Harmosyns, who had in charge to punish the insolencie of vvomen, & to suppresse their arrogance and pride. But the Romanes could neuer boast of such an inuention: For Plato long before had established it, as appeareth in the eleuenth dialogue of his laws. Before I end this present discourse, it will not be amisse to make mention of this old question, so often argued among the Philosophers, both Greekes and Latines, and as yet left vnresolued and determined: The question is this, Whether it beseet a wise mã should mary. *Theophrastus* (*Aristotles* daughters son) a great Philosopher, did long since profoundly argue this question in his booke of Mariage, vvherof by the iniquitie of time vvee are depriued. Some held opinion, that to marrie vvas commendable, others to the contrarie. *Thales* the Milesian, one of the seuen Sages of Greece by antiquitie of speech, went about to proue, that it vvas not expedient for a vvise man to mary: for in his youth, being asked why he married not, he answered, Because it was too soone, and that it was not yet time: long after being growne old,

and

and asked the same question, he answered, that it was too late, and that the time was past. Thus did hee in these words couertly giue to vnderstand, that it was not meet for a wise man to marrie. For albeit the name of a Husband bee both sweet and honourable, yet (who so list to consider, and in *Critolaus* ballance to peise it) it is a full great and intollerable burthen: neither were the marriage roses free from thornes, neither so sweete a raine exempt from some stormes of haile. Who (say they) is able with patience to beare the charges of marriage, the arrogance and insolencie of women, the yoke of a sexe so vnperfect? Who can satisfie as well their carnall lusts, as their insatiable pompe? Is it not an old Prouerbe, That Women and Shippes are neuer so perfect, but still there is somewhat to bee amended. Take a poore wife, and she shall be despised, and thou the lesse set by. Take a rich one with a great dowrie, so of a maister thou shalt be made a varlet: but what varlet? euen a more base one then a skullion in a Kitchen. Of a free man thou shalt bee made a slaue, and weening to match with an equall companion, thou shalt marrie an intollerable Mistresse; I wot not whether I may not say a deuill. Take a faire wife, thou art in danger to make

thy round head beare hornes, vvhich is a terrible Metamorphosis, if it vvere visible and apparent. A castle (notwithstanding vvhat vvatch soeuer) is hardly kept vvhen many do assaile it; and his victory is desperat, vvho being alone is forced to fight vvith many. What els shall vvee say? Riches make a vvoman proud, Beautie breedeth suspition, Euilfauouredneſſe maketh her odious. Is there (sayth *Plutarch*) any thing more light than the tongue of a shameles vvoman; more sharpe than her outrages, more rash then her presumption, more horrible then her malice, or more dangerous then her wrath? I will not speake of vvomans teares that are alwaies in vse. Many times when the vvife vveepeth, the husband taketh her to poure forth the teares of sorrow, when she sheddeth the teares of treason. Womens teates are like the teares of the Crocodile, who neuer vveepeth but in treason. Women alway haue, and daily doe poure forth such fained teares, that vvhen they vveepe indeed for sorrow, vve doubt dissimulation & treason. Againe, such as speake euill of women, doe enrich their vvords vvith hystories and examples, alleadging the harmes and inconueniences that they haue vvrought, as the destruction of Troy, *Hesiodes Pandora*: the pittifull death of *Hercules* by *Deianira*, *Sampson* betraied

traied by *Dalida*, *Salomon* peruerted and made a beast by his Concubines, *Achab* destroyed through *Iesabel*, *Marc Anthony* killing himselfe for the loue of *Cleopatra*. And (vvhich in regard both of time, and the scandale thereof ensuing, vve should haue said first) our great father *Adam* deceiued by *Eue*; through vvhose transgression sinne (as the Apostle saith) came into the vvorld, and through sinne death. They doe also alledge the contemners of mariage: the saying of *Ipponates*; vvho vvas of opinion, that the maried man hath but two good dales; one his mariage day, the other the day that his wife dieth: meaning that the mariage day must be good, because then they vsually make great cheare, and the bride is new and fresh, and all new things doe like vs, and of all pleasures, the beginning is most delectable: The day that the vvife dieth, he tearmeth good, because the poyson dieth vvith the beast, and the husband surviuing, by his vviues death commeth out of bondage, and returneth into his first franchise and libertie, vvhich surpasseth all gold, euen the gold of Arabia, in richnesse. *Alexandrides* also said, that the mariage day vvas the beginning and entrie into many calamities. They also alledge the saying of *Philemon*, vvho thought the vvife to be to her husband a necessarie euil,

and immortall. *Menander* ſaid, that the poore man that married, incurred a threefold miſcheefe: Firſt, albeit hee had no children, yet muſt hee feed at the leaſt two perſons; and hauing children, more: next, that hee tooke that in charge that hee could not ſafely keepe: laſtly, that he endangered himſelfe to be the father of vvicked children, vvho many times are the ſubuerſion and diſhonour of their fathers houſe, and a reproch to the whole kinred. Likevviſe doe they alleadge the ſaying of *Diphilus*, That it is a hard matter throughout the world, to find one good vviſe, vvhereto alſo agreeth the old Prouerbe, that ſaith, A good vviſe, a good Moile, and a good Goat, are three bad beaſts. To enrich their Argument, they alſo bring in *Cheremon*, ſaying, That it vvas a greater bleſsing to the Husband to ſee his wife laid in her graue than in her bed. A Greeke Philoſopher being asked what vvas the greateſt good hap that euer befell him, anſwered, That he had neither vviſe nor children. They proceed yet farther, and bring in the Hiſtory of a noble Romane, vvho being very ſad and heauie the next day after his marriage, and had the night before lien vvith his vviſe, vvas by ſome of his friends and familiars asked vvhat cauſe hee had to bee ſo ſad, ſith his vviſe vvas

both

both faire, rich, and verie vvell borne: hee ſtretching forth his legge, and ſhewing his foot ſaid, Behold you ſee my ſhooe is new, faire, and vvell made, yet you knowe not in vvhat part of my foot it wringeth mee. *Socrates* ſaid, That men were to bee corrected by the Lawes of the Citte that they inhabited, and wiues by the Lawes of the men vvhome they maried. They farther alleage *Heſiode*, who ſaith, That he which truſteth to a vvoman, is as ſafe as he that hangeth vpon the leaues of a tree, eſpecially in the end of Autumne whē the leaues begin to fall. *Homer* (ſay they) reporteth that *Vliſſes*, albeit *Penelope* vvas both faithfull and chaſt, would neuer truſt her vntill the verie extremitie. And as for *Pandora*, whom vvee haue before mentioned, they ſay, that albeit of *Mercurie* ſhe had learned eloquence, of *Pallace* to ſpinne, ſow, and worke with the needle, and hath had her apparrell from *Venus*, yet did ſhe bring the whole world into confuſion: Then what will that woman do, that hath had none of theſe benefites from the gods, as *Pandora* had? All theſe goodly allegations, vvhereof the moſt part are but friuolous, doe theſe that ſpeake euill of vvomen, produce. But as concerning men, if ſome haue by them been deceaued, the fault is to bee imputed rather

to

to themſelues then to them, who according to the perfection of their kind, ought to haue ben vviſer then vvomen, vvhō Nature hath brought forth more changeable in vvill, and more fraile in counſel: albeit *Plato* hath not quite excluded them from the gouernement of a Common-vveale, in caſe any may be found capable of ſuch a charge, for their naturall imperfection ought not to be obiected againſt them as a reproch, but be imputed rather to nature then to them, and ſo ſuch as taxe them therevvith, doe proue themſelues deuoid of reaſon, far from all good capacity, and vtterly vnvvorthie that vvomen ſhould haue conceaued them, brought them into the vvorld, ſuckled or brought them vp. I preſume, Reader, that thou haſt heard the tale of the Nunne, vvho finding in her booke at the bottome of the leafe theſe vvords, *Bonum eſt omnia ſcire*, determined and meant to trie vvhat the carnall copulation of man and woman might be, but turning ouer the leafe, ſhe ſaw in the beginning thereof, vvhere it vvas vvritten, *Sed non vti*, vvherupon to her greeſe, ſhe altered her purpoſe, and her ioy laſted but a vvhile. Euen ſo in this diſcourſe, ſuch as ſpeake hardly of mariage and vviues, might by reading this vvhich I haue ſet downe in regard of their opinions, thinke their cauſe good, but it vvill

fall

fall out with them, as with the Nunne: They ſhall haue ſmall ioy, if they doe but turne ouer the leafe, that is, if they read that which followeth, vvhich doth vvholly conclude and perſiſt in the contrary of the premiſſes.

Firſt of the originall and antiquity of mariage, of the place where it vvas inſtituted, and of the Authour, vvho vvas our good and mighty God, I vvill not at this preſent make anie farther mention, but be content with ſo much as is already ſet downe. But for the reſt, Plato the heauenly Philoſopher ſaid, that if with our bodily eies vve could behold the beautie that is contained in Honeſty, we ſhould fal greatly in loue vvith her, yea euen ſo far, that we ſhould not bee able to ſatisfie our eies vvith the view thereof: but ſhe cannot be ſeene but vvith the eies of the ſpirit. But if vve liſt vvith the eies of our ſpirit to view the beautie of Honeſtie, vve cannot any where more curiouſly ſeek, or more eaſily find her then in marriage: Can there be any thing more honeſt then the maried life, in caſe it be on all parts accompliſhed? Was there euer any calling more beautified then the ſame vvhich our Sauior vouchſafed to beautifie with his preſence, the nuptiall feaſt vvhereof hee did illuſtrat vvith his miracle, euen the firſt that euer hee vvrought in his humanity? Can any

thing be more holy then that vvhich the holy of holies, the Father and Creator of all things, hath eſtabliſhed, honoured, and in his preſence conſecrated? Can there be anie greater equity thē to leaue to our ſucceſſors that which vve hold from our predeceſſors? By coniugall copulation vvee are in the vvorld, and by the ſame are vve to leaue others for to continue the propagation vvhich our anceſtors haue continued vnto vs. If they haue not omitted the continuation of it vnto vs, neither muſt vvee omit to continue it to our ſucceſſours. Can there be any greater folly, then to ſeeke to ſhunne that thing as prophane, vvhich God hath accounted holy? For euill, vvhich hee hath reputed good? For delectable, vvhich hee hath deemed ſacred? Can there be any greater inhumanity, then to reproue the ſpring of humanity? Is there any greater ingratitude then to denie to our aftercommers that vvhich vve haue receiued from our forerunners? If vve demand vvho vvas the firſt Authour to eſtabliſh Marriage, it vvas neither *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Moyſes*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, neither *Ariſtotle*, but it vvas euen God himſelfe, vvho did inſtitute, honour, commend, yea, vvhich is more, vvho did conſecrate mariage. Immediately after God had created man of the ſlime of the earth, he knew that his

life

life should be both miserable, tedious, and displeasing, vnlesse hee also gaue him a vvife to keep him faithful companie, vvhom, as is aforesaid, he made not of the like slime, but of mans bone, to shew that nothing should cleaue so sure, or be so conioined or conglutinated vnto him, as his vvife. Moreouer, after the flood, for the restauration of mankind, God said not, liue in continencie, but liue, multiply, and repleniſh the earth. If any man alleadge, that this commandement vvas giuen in regard of the necessitie of the time, as also, the libertie of *Moses* law; did not Iesus Christ vvith his owne mouth say, Man shall leaue his father & mother, and cleaue to his vvife? Can any thing be more holy then the dutie that vve owe to our parents that haue begotten vs? yet is the fidelity in marriage preferred before all dutie to father or mother, but by vvhat Author? Euen by God himselfe. At vvhat time? Not in the time of Iudaisme, but in time of Christianisme. The father is left, the mother is left; the vvife is kept: For how long? Not for anie time limitted, but euen vvhile life dooth last. That vvhich God hath begun, death only dooth end, that vvhich God hath cõioined only death seperats, that which God hath assured, man cannot dissolue, that which god hath establisht, none can abolish. O

what a dignity! what a preheminence! what a prerogatiue hath marriage? If anie cauelling Sophiſter liſt to ſay, If Mariage be ſo vvorthie and ſo honourable, vvhy did Ieſus Chriſt forbeare it? Why vvould not he marrie? The anſwere is readie: How manie perfections vvere there in Ieſus Chriſt, vvhich vve may better admire, then imitate? He was borne without a father, and vvithout anie anguiſh to his mother came forth of that cloſe monument. All that vvas in him ſurpaſsing nature, vve may admire, but by reaſon of our humane frailetie, wee cannot imitate. He vvas both God and Man: to humanitie mariage is conuenient, but to Deitie it is repugnant. He vouchſafed to be borne of a Virgine, yet maried: it vvas conuenient for God to be borne of a Virgine, and of a maried Virgine, to teach vs that mariage is honorable, & this hath the Apoſtle expreſſed in his Epiſtle to the Hebrewes. Moreouer, the fruitfulneſſe of vvomen abounding in children, is the gift of God: for among his bleſsings beſtowed vpon his people, this vvas one, To haue a fruitful vvife, and by her to ſee his table, and the corners of his houſe beſet vvith children, as the King and Prophet in his harmonie doth ſing. In Deuteronomie we may read, that among all the bleſsings that God beſtovved vpon the

children

children of Iſraell, this vvas not the leaſt, that among them there ſhould not be a barren man nor vvoman. Had not barrenneſſe ben reproo-ued, the barren married, had not by *Moyſes* law ben put from the Aultar, neither their offrings refuſed: as among others, vve may read of *Joachim*, the Father of the Virgin *Marie*. But vvhy vvere they put backe? Becauſe they left not a ſuruiuer of their race, & vvere therfore reputed as vnprofitable, bringing no increaſe to their Commonweale. *Rachel* and *Leah*, vvhen they could not conceiue, ſuppoſed that God had diſpiſed them. With vvhat a feruent deſire did *Rachel* entreat her ſiſter *Leah* to giue her of the *Mandragoras* that her ſonne *Ruben* had brought from the fields, as vveening by them to recouer the fruit of conception? Albeit Saint *Auguſtine* teſtifieth, that he neuer read in any Author that had vvritten of the nature and force of plants, that *Mandragoras* had the vertue to make the barren fruitfull, yet dooth the coldneſſe thereof reduce into temper the exceſsiue heat of the matrixe, vvhich breedeth barrenneſſe, by burning the mans ſeed therein. Again, the Lawes of the Iewes had marriage in ſuch reuerence, that the nevv married man vvas exempt and free from the vvarres for the firſt year of his mariage, that ſo he might haue one vvhole

yeare to ſport him, and to tend to generation, and without interruption to be merrie with his wife. But good God, who can defend a Commonweale without Armes? If mankind faileth, who ſhall beare armes? If that which by death doth of neceſsitie grow to an end, were not by generation ſupplied, how could mankind continue? The Lawes of the Romanes (who to all Nations were a patterne of vertue) did rigorouſly puniſh ſuch as would not marrie, forbidding them all publicke Offices, and diſgrading them from all ſuch as they had alreadie obtained. Beſides, the rather to inuite them to marriage, and conſequently to generation, they gaue priuiledges to ſuch as had manie children, and he that had moſt children, had the greateſt aduantage, and was ſooneſt preferred to publick office and honor. The rigor of the ſaid laws that thus puniſhed ſuch as liued in cõtinency, were in fauor of the Chriſtian law, moderated by *Conſtantine* the Romane Emperor. Long before the ſaid *Conſtantine*, *Auguſtus Cæſar* being Cenſor at Rome, did by his authority cauſe an inquiſition to be takẽ againſt a Romane knight, who (contrary to the law) would not mary, & ſhould haue ben puniſhed, had he not proued himſelfe father of three childrẽ. *Vlpian* the Lawgiuer ſaith, That this was the

cauſe

cauſe that womens dowries had ſuch priuileges, neither was there any other reaſon for it, but only the benefit that all Cõmonweales do reap of mariage: He that had three children, ſhould neuer be forced to any legation, or publicke embaſſage: He that had fiue, was free frõ all perſonall charge, as an auncient tutor: Hee that had thirteene, was free from all charge. Not without cauſe thẽ haue all Lawgiuers, Monarks, & Princes, ſo highly fauored married men, & ſpecially ſuch as haue repleniſhed their cities with many childrẽ. But towhat purpoſe do we ſtand vpon the examples of former ages, ſith we haue both new & freſh in memory. *Raphael Volateran* in his Phitologie reporteth, that at Florence, euen at this day he that is father of twelue children, male or female, preſently vpõ the birth of the twelfth, is free and exempt from all taxe, impoſt, lone, or ſubſidy. If there be no greater good, neither any felicity more to be deſired thẽ immortality, the ſame doth the propagation of our family, by continuation of kind (which nature denieth vs in ſingle life) bring vnto vs, and thereby we are made immortal: wherefore we may hereof fully conclude, that to man or womã there can befal no greater felicity in this world, then to leaue iſſue, whereby to teſtifie to the poſterity, that they haue beene in the vvorld, vvhere they haue left the badge of their being.

The

The Emperour *Adrian* (of all the Roman Emperors the moſt learned, eſpecially in the Mathematickes and Greeke tongue) vpon the confiſcation of anie mans goods that vvas attaint and conuict of anie capitall crime, hearing that any ſuch had childrē, vvould reſtore the goods of the condemned fathers to their children; as knowing (being both learned and vviſe) that the Romane Empire vvas better guarded and defended by the propagation of children, then by heaping vp richeſſe in his coffers. *Licurgus* in his Lawes did ordaine, that euery Cittizen that preferred Continencie before the eſtate of Mariage, ſhould be debarred from all publicke plaies, vvhich in thoſe daies vvas a mighty reproch: and in Winter, vvhen the cold vvas ſharpeſt, that they ſhould be ſtripped, and forced to goe round about the market and common place ſtarke naked. So holy and honourable did the Grecians account the bond of Mariage that in reuenge of the rauiſhment of *Helen*, and the Adulterie committed by *Paris Alexander*, they vvarred tenne yeares againſt the Troians, and finally deſtroied them. The Romanes by the law *Iulia* (ſo named of the Authour thereof) eſtabliſhed death to marriage breakers. The Iewes, as is aforeſaid, ſtoned them: yet theeues in returning foure times the value of the

ſtollen

ſtollen goods, did eſcape, but adulterers might not eſcape vvith life. The ſeuerity of the Romane lawes tollerated the murder of him that vvas taken in adultery: but him that made aſſault vpon man, might no man kill vvithout a certaine moderation thereby implying that the husband vvas more vvronged in the abuſe of his vvife, then in attempting againſt his owne life. But is there anie thing more naturall then the combination of male and female? If vve liſt to lift vp our minds to the contemplation of this great handie vvorke of God, vvhich vve call the vvorld, vve ſhall find combination of male and female, as vvell in the celeſtiall vvorld, as in baſe terreſtriall. Among the ſtarres and plannets, the ſunne is as the male, and the moone as the female: and this may vve diſcerne in that the ſunne is vvhote and drie, as man, and the moone cold and moiſt, as vvoman. Among the other plannets *Venus* beareth the name, & hath the operation of the female, the reſt of the male. If vve proceed to ſpeak of their ſubſtãce and forme, *Ariſtotle* in his vvonderfull vvorke of the hiſtory of Creatures, as alſo after him *Albert* the great, doe ſay: That the forme taketh the place of the male, and the ſubſtance the place of the female. Alſo that as one man can beget ſundrie vvomen vvith child, ſo the forme

may informe ſundrie ſubſtances. *Ariſtotle* ſaith further, that as the ſubſtance deſireth the form, ſo the vvoman deſireth the man. Likewiſe that to make this combination of ſubſtance and forme; the ſubſtance, before it receiue the form, muſt be ordered and prepared according to the exigence of the forme. As for example, if of an earthly ſubſtance vvee vvould make fire, vve muſt firſt purge and purifie it from the earthlineſſe, and ſo neere as poſsiblie vve can, bring it to the ſubtiliation and ſimplicitie of fire. Of the ſignes of the Zodiake and fixed ſtarres, ſome be male, and ſome female. What ſhall vve ſay more? Let vs behold the great mariage and combination that is betweene the ſunne and the earth: The ſunne is the male, and the earth the female. What an admirable combination (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) doe we behold in this marriage? The earth as the female conceiueth, and as a mother miniſtreth nutritiue moiſture to all trees and plants: The ſunne as the male & father, imparteth his quickening heat. Each actiue is married to his paſsiue, yet doth there nothing come to effect, vnleſſe betweene the agent which is the male; and the patient, which is the female, there be a due proportion, euen as the mariage of a giant or Ciclops with a Pigmee, cã produce nothing. Moreouer, experience and

neceſsity

neceſsity doth ſufficiently proue a combinati-on of male and female in all creatures. As for things vegitable, as trees and plants, if vve read the Greek writers, as *Theophraſt*, *Galen*, *Dioſcorides*, the Arabians, as *Serapion*, *Auicenne*, *Rhaſis*, *Auerrhaes*, the Latines, as *Pliny* and others that haue written of the nature of plants, we ſhal alſo in trees and plants find male and female, which if they bee planted neere togither, doe ſhew forth a great demonſtration of their naturall amity; for the branches of the male doe naturally ſhoot forth towards the female; as if they would imbrace her. O what a ſecret of nature is this, or rather of God, the maker of the ſame! This wonderful loue of trees is more apparent in the palm tree thē in any other, for if the female palm be planted neere to her male, their leaues and branches will enterioine and ſhut ſo cloſe together, that without breaking, you ſhall hardly part thē, as *Aluredus* a rare Authour, and one that hath written moſt of the nature of plants, doth report. Cōcerning the mariage and cōbination of minerals, as mettals and precious ſtones, the gold ſtands for the male, the ſiluer for the female, as by experience, your couſining Alcumiſts may find: who (as ſaith *Iohn* the 22 Pope) ſtriuing to inrich others, ſtarue thēſelues. *Bartolomew* the Engliſhmā, *aliàs Glanuile*, in his

naturall worke ſaith : A leafe of gold ioined vvith a leafe of ſiluer, if it be ioined as it ought, the conglutination vvill be ſo vnited and conioined, that they cannot be diuided. Likevviſe among precious ſtones, ſome are male, and ſome female, as vve may ſee in ſuch Authors as haue vvritten of them: as *Euax*, *Pliny*, *Marbodeus*, *Albert* the great, *Mathew Siluatius*, and others. The auncient Poets (as *Cicero* vvitneſſeth) in antiquity goe before the Philoſophers, did vſe to cõceale the ſubſtance of their diuine cogitations vnder the ſhadow of fables: as for example, vnder the fable of *Orpheus*, vvho deſcended into hell to fetch forth his vvelbeloued vvife *Euridice*, they figured the loue that euerie husband ought to beare to his vvife: for if matrimoniall loue penetrateth euen to hell, where (as *Job* ſaith) eternall horror hath her habitation, ſhould it not in reaſon bee far more feruent in this vvorld? If mariage vvere had in honour in the kingdome of *Plato*, vvhich is the manſion houſe of darkeneſſe, ſhall it not bee had in greater honour in the kingdome of *Iupiter*, the habitation of light? Why did antiquitie faine *Iupiter*, *Gamelius*, *Iuno*, and *Lucina*, to bee the gods and goddeſſes of mariage and childbirth; but only to ſhew that Marriage is a diuine and ſacred vvorke, vvhereof both gods and goddeſſes

deſſes ought to haue a care? If the labourour, that by negligence ſuffereth his fieldes to lie barren, that otherwiſe vvould beare Wheate, Rye, Barlie, Oats, Peaſe, Beanes, or ſuch like for the releefe of the Commonvveale, deſerueth great blame: ſhall not that man vvith greater reaſon be blamed, vvho through his owne negligence leaueth that field vntilled vvhich would bring forth and nouriſh men, to repleniſh, gouerne, and defend the Commonvveale? The fields vvhere vve ſow Wheat, muſt haue much labour, great labour, and continuall care: but the field vvhere vve ſow men and vvomen, need no great trauaile, neither is there any labour therein deuoid of pleaſure and incredible delight. Doth it not then ſtand more vvith mans liking and the benefite of the Commonvveale to ſow men then corne? If thou ſhouldeſt alledge an inconuenience and ſay, Whereof ſhall man and vvoman liue, if there bee no corne, I anſwere: If the generation of mankind ſhould ceaſe or faile, vvho ſhall till the earth, ſow, reap, thraſh or gather in the fruits of the earth? It is good therefore to doe the one, and not leaue the other vndone: and yet of the propagation of mankind doth all the reſt depend. Who ſhall then blame that vvhich God hath inſtituted, nature commanded, reaſon perſuaded, all learning

ning both diuine and humane allowed, all laws aucthoriſed, the conſent of all men approued, and from the beginning of the world to this day put in practiſe. If we muſt loue ſuch things as bee honeſt, albeit labourſome, much rather muſt we loue thoſe things, which as they be honeſt, ſo they be pleaſant and delectable. Can there be any thing more honeſt then mariage, or more delectable then carnall copulation? Againe, as wee cannot thinke him a good gardiner that can ſufficiently proine and cheriſh ſuch trees as hee hath already in his Orchard, vnleſſe he bee alſo carefull and diligent in planting and graffing of new to ſucceed in the places of thoſe which in proceſſe of time may wax old and die, ſo cannot hee be thought a good citizen or a maintainer of his Commonvveale, vvho contenting himſelf vvith his citizens now liuing, hath no farther regard to beget any new to ſupplie the roome of thoſe that by age, ſickneſſe, vvarre, peſtilence, famine, or any other accident, happen to die. Conſequently therefore he cannot be thought a good citizen that taketh no care, ſo far as in him lieth, for the multiplying and increaſing of his Commonweale. Canſt thou find any ſweeter comfort in this world, then to liue with her to whom thou art yoked, not only by good wil, but alſo by a reciprocall

procall communication of bodies? Who ſo is deſirous to vnderſtand the great effects of the bodily coniunction, may read the verſes of the ancient Poet *Lucretius* in his book of nature, as alſo the moſt learned Philoſopher *Marſilius Ficinus* in his cõmentaries vpon *Platoes* banquet, where he alſo rehearſeth the verſes of the ſaid *Lucretius*. If we take a great delight in cõferring of our ſecret affairs with our friends and neighbors, how much more ſhal we delight to impart our cogitations to her to whõ we ſpeak as confidẽtly as to our ſelues, who alſo muſt ſhare with vs in our wealth & wo, and doth take our good or hurt to be her own. To our other friends vve are conioined only by hearty good vvill, but to our vviues vve are euen tied by ſouerein charity, corporal cõmixion, ſacred confederation, & inſeparable cõpany and ſociety in all kind of fortune. In all other friendſhip there reſteth much diſſimulation, for friends for the moſt part are diſſemblers & counterfeits, fitly reſembled to ſwallovvs that keep vs cõpany al ſummer, but at the cõming of the cold vvinter are gone: and indeed ſuch friends are friends to our proſperity euẽ ſo long ſaith *Ouid*, as the ſvveet vvind of *Zephirus* blovveth on vs, but vvhẽ the biting cold northern wind (vvhich the Greeks term *Boreas*) begins to blovv, they are quite gone, ye ſet no

more

more eie on them but the loue of a couple, honeſtly married, is for euer indiſſoluble. Of ſuch vve haue the examples remembred in ſundrie choiſe Authors, as among the reſt the moſt notable loue of *Tiberius Gracchus* to his vvife *Cornelia*; vvho choſe to die, that his vvife might liue: vvherein it is to be doubted vvhether were greater, her felicitie to light vpon ſuch a one, or her calamitie to loſe him. If among husbãds wee haue found *Tiberius Gracchus*: ſo among vviues vve may find manie more, beſide thoſe whom *Plutarch* hath collected in his booke of Renowmed vvomen; in whome wee may read the admirable affection of vvomen to their husbands. What more might vvee adde to this diſcourſe? If thou be poore, and Fortune frowne, ſhe will comfort thee. Canſt thou haue anie neerer or more amiable conſolation? Is there anie pleaſure comparable vvith the pleaſure of marriage? If through feare, ſickneſſe, or anie other inconuenience, thou beeſt forced to keep thy houſe, thy vvife vvil eaſe the auoy of thy ſolitarineſſe. If thou goeſt abroad, thou vvilt bee glad to leaue in thy houſe the perſon that thou beſt truſteſt. At thy departure thy vvife vvill bring thee to the dore vvith kiſſes, and at thy returne ſhe vyill receiue thee with callings. Thy departure vvill make her ſad, but thy returne

will

will reioice her. At bed and at bord, vvhich are as vve ſay, priuiledged places, thou ſhalt bee as vvelcome as the bright ſunne after a long raine. In thy youth ſhee vvill bee to thee a ſweete and amiable companion, and in old age ſhe vvill be an acceptable ſolace. Nature hath produced vs to liue in ſocietie, not in ſolitarineſſe like vvild beaſts. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That he that liueth ſolitarie is either a beaſt, or more then a man. What ſweeter company canſt thou haue then of her, vvith vvhome thou haſt all things in common? Sith we ſee many beaſts delight to liue in company, vvhat muſt man doe, vvho is a reaſonable creature? Should vve hate any thing more thē the man that is borne but for himſelfe onely? Who doth nothing but for himſelfe, neither liueth but for himſelfe: Such a man deſerueth to be ſequeſtred from the ſociety of all men, & vvith Timon, be caſt into the deepeſt gulfe of the Ionique ſea, there to be food to the Tritons, Mermaids, and other the monſters of the ſea. Again, by marriage a mā multiplieth in friends, affinitie, kindred and neighbourhood (vvhich is no ſmall matter:) His brethren, ſiſters, nephewes, and nieces, doe grow double. Neither doe I ſpeake of the great and ſoueraigne benefite of peace that groweth betweene Monarchs and great Princes by marriage, yet by

experience vvee find that there is no peace ſo firme as the ſame vvhich groweth hereof. So long as Iulia the daughter of Iulius Cæſar, and vvife to Pompey, liued, the Romane Empire enioied peace; but vpon her death the inextinguible fire of ciuile vvar kindled and ſubuerted their Commonweale. Vpon the life of the ſaid Princeſſe depended the tranquilitie of the Romane Empire, yea euen of the whole world, as appeared ſoone after her deceaſe. What benefit and felicity had the Romanes reaped of that mariage, if it had long continued? And vpon the expiration thereof, into vvhat calamity and ruine did they fall? In this terreſtriall vvorld is there any thing more to be deſired then peace, vvithout the vvhich all vvealth is but pouerty, al ioy ſorrow, and all life very death? Moreouer, proceeding in our principall purpoſe, Among other the felicities of marriage, vvho can expreſſe the comfort of the father that ſeeth his little children playing before him? *Socrates* the Philoſopher, by the Oracle of Apollo deemed the vviſeſt man of his time, rode vpon a ſticke among little children? Octauius Cæſar Auguſtus ſo farre abaſed the imperiall grauity, as to play with little children at cobnut, as Ihaue ſet down in my dedicatory epiſtle of my hundred conſiderations of loue. But O good God! what

a ioy is it to the father to ſee his liuely portraiture abridged in the face of his children, & the ſame ſo liuely, that Lyſippus, Mentor, Policletus, Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Appelles, or Parrhaſius could neuer paint or work the like. When thy children grow great (if they proue as they ought) they vvil be a ſtaffe to thy old age, a prop to thy vveakeneſſe, and a pillar to thy houſe. By the courſe of nature outliuing thee, at thy death they ſhall cloſe thine eies, prouide for thy funerals, and performe the ceremonies therein requiſite. It is a goodly matter for a man to die among his owne. Octauius Auguſtus aforenamed, deſired to die in the boſome, euen betweene the armes of his ſo vvelbeloued vvife, the faire and learned Liuia Draſilla. Againe, being married, doeſt thou make no account of thy vviues induſtrie about her huſwiferie? Whē thou ſleepeſt many times ſhee vvatcheth, ſhee ſpinneth, ſhe ſoweth, ſhe laboureth and goeth vp and downe the houſe, as carefull vvith great diligence to keepe that vvhich thou haſt gotten with great labour. I will not ſpeak of linnen, which is one of the moſt neceſſary and cleanlieſt things belonging to houſhold. Will not a man delight to eat at the cloth, and lie in the ſheets which his wife hath ſpun and ſowed. Womē haue time out of mind ben very famous for

their good ſpinning, ſowing, and needlework: and not only vvomen of meane and baſe calling, but euen the vviues and daughters of Emperours, Kings, and Princes. *Varro* an Authour of great authority, vvhom Saint *Auguſtine* in his Citie of God accounteth the beſt learned of all the Latines, reporteth that in his time at Rome in the Temple of Ancus Martius, they kept the diſtaffe and ſpindles of the princeſſe Tanaquille, vvith the remainder of the vvooll vvhereof ſhee had ſpunne the royall robe that Seruius Tullius vvore. Neither vvill it bee amiſſe here to make mention of the Heathen Lawe, vvhich forbad vvomen to ſpinne as they vvalked the ſtreets and common high vvaies. And euẽ at this day ſome there be ſo fantaſticall, that they thinke it ominous to meet a vvoman ſpinning, vnleſſe immediately ſhee plucke her diſtaffe from her ſide. This matter putteth mee in mind to vvrite one thing vvorthy the noting, vvhich is this: The two greateſt Monarchs that euer vvere, namely, Alexander the great, and Octauius Auguſtus (vnder vvhoſe Empire our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt vouchafed to be born) neuer vvore other robes then the ſame that their vviues, daughters, or ſiſters had ſpunne, vvarped, vvouen, and ſowed. At the making of the league betweene the Romanes & the Sabines,

and

and their Kings Romulus and Tatius, among other things it vvas decreed, that the Sabine vviues ſhould not be forced to any labour, but to ſpinne, vveaue, and ſow. The auncient Iberians vſually cauſed their vviues to bring into a publicke place the cloth that they had ſpunne, and there ſhe that had made the fineſt & beſt, vvas among the reſt had in greateſt honor, and rewarded. This diſcourſe putteth me in mind that I haue read in the vvorkes of the noble Poet *Claudian*, that the Princeſſe Serena ſiſter to the two Romane Emperours, Arcadius and Honorius, ſent to her ſaid brother Arcadius to Conſtantinople (vvhich vvas then the ſeat of the Empire) the bards and caparriſon of a horſe very artificially vvrought vvith her needle, and embrodered and purphiled vvith her owne hand, as alſo certain other moſt excellent cloths to her brother Honorius. Neither can I vvell tell vvhich hand moſt to commend, vvhether the ſaid Princeſſe hand that vvrought ſo vvell, or the manlike hand of the Poet *Claudian* that hath ſo vvell and eloquently ſet downe the preſentatiue Epigram of the ſaid gift. But to end this diſputation, If Lots daughters ſhamed not to commit moſt horrible inceſt vvith their father, for feare leaſt they ſhould die vvithout iſſue; vvhat ſhall euery vviſe man doe, that by

mariage may haue propagation and iſſue without committing ſinne againſt God, or incurring infamy vvith the vvorld? What man I pray you may iuſtly reprooue matrimony, ſith the lawes both of God and man doe thereunto exhort vs, nature induce vs, honeſty allure vs, infinite commodities inuite vs, all Nations lead vs the vvay; and laſtly, neceſsitie of perpetuating our kind dooth inforce vs? Adam our firſt father vvas maried by Gods owne hand: Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, and his ſonnes, Moſes, Ioſue, and all the Patriarkes and Prophets: Aron, Eleazar, Hely, Samuel, and all the Prieſts of the Iewiſh law: Saule, Dauid, Salomon, and the reſt of the kings of the Iewes: All the Babilonian, Aſſyrian, Perſian, Median, Grecian & Romane Monarkes· *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Seneca*, *Plutarke*, and all the Philoſophers, except a few Sinickes were married, and held Matrimony in great reuerence. Now therefore it only remaineth that vve anſwere ſuch principles as are alledged to the contrary, which by one only anſwere may be confuted. Thoſe Philoſophers & Poets that contemned mariage were Ethnicks, and blinded in their owne wiſedome, or rather folly, vvanting the knowledge of the truth that God hath ſince vouchſafed to reueale vnto vs, neither is it any meruaile that they erred in the

contempt

contempt of matrimony, ſith they erred in the knowledge of the ſouerain good, vvhereto they could neuer attaine. I meane not in this vvorke to vvrite any ſatire againſt them, the rather for that the moſt learned and moſt eloquent Author *Lactantius Firmian* hath ſtrained the ſinews of his eloquence in his diuine iuſtitutions, in confutation of their ſaid vaine wiſdome, and to him I referre thee. As a bad raine bringeth more barrenneſſe then plentie, ſo the controuerſies of the Philoſophers, who (as *Lucian* ſaith) could neuer agree among thẽſelues, hath bred amõg men more confuſion then doctrine. The wine of vvorldly vviſedome breedeth more drunkenneſſe then vviſedome, it puffeth vp, but ſatisfieth not, and procureth more ingurgitation then comfort. Saint *Auguſtine* the Eagle of all Eccleſiaſticall Doctors, did alwaies preferre the Platoniſts before all other Philoſophers, as approching neereſt to Chriſtian truth. But vvee ſhall neuer find that *Plato* or any of his ſchollers contemned Marriage; but rather extolling it, impoſed a penaltie vpon ſuch as vvould not marrie, as appeareth in the ſixt Dialogue of his Lawes. Now to the end, as vvell the Husband as the Wife, may reciprocally knowe how to beare themſelues in the gouernment of their family, Ihaue thought

good

good to bring into an Epilogue the duties as vvell of the one, as of the other.

The duties of the Husband toward his Wife.

THe duties of the Husband tovvard the vvife being reduced into an Epitome, are fiue: The firſt, That euery Husband bevvare that he iniure not his vvife in vvord or deed, but rather to praiſe, honor, and loue her: for honouring his vvife, he honoreth himſelfe. The Lawyer ſaith, That maried vviues are & muſt be beutified vvith the beams of their Husbands, and the Husband muſt be he that muſt ſet others an example hovv to honour his vvife, vvhich if he doe, he ſhall induce his vvife to honour him, but if doing the contrary hee offer her iniurie, ſhee vvill thereof take occaſion to practiſe againſt him and his honor. Among good Authors, vvee find the examples hereof more plentifull then raine in Februarie. But the ſole memorable example of Clitemneſtra the vvife of Agamemnon, ſhall content vs for this time, vvho being iniuried by her huſband, and meaning to reuenge the iniury, committed Adultery, and finally conſented to the death of her ſaid Husband Agamemnon. It is

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a common Prouerbe, Spight me and I will anger thee. Now is there nothing in the world more ſpightfull then a woman, namely, if ſhe knoweth her ſelfe to be iniuried, and that her husband doth without cauſe, entreat her hardly. It is alſo another common Prouerbe, Anger thy dogge too much, and he will bite thee. Euery wiſe husband therefore muſt take heed that he iniure not his wife, neither vſe her hardly, By too much ſtraining, the Eele oftentimes ſcapeth away. Vliſſes ſo well intreated his wife Penelope, that thereupon ſhe kept vnto him her plighted faith during his long abſence, notwithſtanding ſhe had many occaſions to haue dealt otherwiſe. The like law may likewiſe take place concerning ſeruants, male or female, whom their Maiſters ſhould not wrong. For euery Maiſter is to remember that his ſeruant is the creature of God, as wel as himſelfe, & that in the Maiſters houſe the ſeruant ſhould be as in a ſanctuarie and place of ſafetie, where no man ſhould haue wrong. The auncients had a priuate and domeſticall god, whom they tearmed the god Lar, which in our language we may interpret the god of the hearth: him they held in ſuch reuerence, that if any had fled to the hearth, albeit in the houſe of his capitall enemie, yet durſt not his enemie haue offered

him anie violence, no not in his owne houſe: For there he vvas as in a place of priuiledge & franchiſe. By ſuch meanes vvas *Themiſtocles* the Athenian (a vviſe and moſt valiant Prince) ſaued, for being baniſhed Athens, he fled to the hearth of his capitall enemie, vvho durſt not there vvrong or ſtrike him. The hearth vvas dedicated and ſacred to the goddeſſe Veſta, vvho had her holy place vvhere the cheefe fire of the houſe vvas made. If then vve be forbidden to vſe violence to our enemie that flieth to our hearth, alſo that our ſeruaunts male or female haue intereſt in our hearth, and thereupon (as alſo by the ſentence of the Pithagoriſts) we are forbidden to doe them vvrong, hovv much rather ſhould the husband beware of offering violence to his vvife, vvho next to himſelfe, is the principal perſon of his bed, his table, his hearth, yea euen of all his houſe?

The ſecond dutie of the Husband toward his Wife.

THe ſecond dutie that the husbãd ovveth toward his wife, is this: That he forbear the carnal company of any other but his vviſe, for otherwiſe if his vvife knovve it, he ſhal entangle himſelfe in a more inextricable

ble Labyrinth then the ſame of Porſena or Dedalus, neither will ſhee euer affoord him good looke, but rather practiſe to reuenge and quit him with the like; as thinking ſhe hath good cauſe to breake with her husband, ſith he breaketh with her. The wiues ſuſpition of her husbands incontinencie, or his of hers, breedeth a moſt greeuous paſsion, or rather a fury or rage, vvhich vve tearme iealouſie. The Philoſopher *Chriſippus* making a deſcriptiõ of iealouſie ſaith, Iealouſie is a diſeaſe of the mind, proceeding of fear, leaſt that be imparted to another which we would not haue cõmon to any but our ſelues. The diuines do ſay that iealouſie is ingendred of loue, which will not admit any cõpanion in the thing beloued. In reading the beſt Authors, vve ſhal find, that of al nations the Parthians are the moſt iealous of their wiues, whervpõ the womẽ going out at dores, do neuer ſhew their faces or ſtomacks, & ſuch as be of good calling, goe in cloſe vailes, that they may not be ſeene. Pope *Pius* the 2 in his deſcription of certaine naturall baths of Germany, where himſelfe was preſent, did much maruel at the familiary of the Dutch-womẽ, who would euẽ in preſence of their husbands ſtep naked into the baths among men. He ſaith moreouer, that ther is not in the world any Nation leſſe iealous then the Germanes,

albeit their vvomen bee moſt ſoueraigne faire. The Engliſh doe ſuffer their vviues to be merry in tauernes vvithout ſuſpition. But by the teſtimonie of the ſame Æneas Siluius, The Italians contrariwiſe are as iealous as any, of their vvomẽ: I vvil not ſay that ſuch as follow that haunt, are as bad for their boies alſo. The authors truth is not much to be ſuſpected, for himſelfe vvas an Italian of Sienna. In matter of iealouſie vve haue of both ſorts. *Plutarch* in his booke, hovv a man may learne to take profite of vertue, ſaith that perfect carnall loue vvas neuer free from iealouſie; alſo as enuie is a prouocation to vertue, ſo is iealouſie a ſpurre to perfect loue. *Plinie* in his natural hiſtorie, and after him *Solinus*, doe report, that of all beaſts the vvild Aſſe, by the Greeks called Onager, is the moſt iealous: For in a vvhole Heard of females, there is but one male, and he is ſo iealous, that he vvill not ſuffer anie other but himſelfe among them: Beſides, vvhen the female chaunceth to haue a male colt, the ſire vvith his teeth vvill bite of his genetories, as fearing he ſhould couer his dam. Yet for the preſeruation of their kind, Nature hath taught the females to make their young ones in ſo cloſe a corner, that the male ſhall not find them in haſt, otherwiſe their kind muſt ſoone periſh.

Sith

Sith vvee muſt declaime againſt Ielouſie, what difference betweene hanging in a ſilken halter, and a hempon halter, Is the paſne of the one leſſe than the other? Or is the death the eaſier? He is a ſtarke foole, vvhat doe I ſay a foole? Euen a mad man, that vvillingly putteth his feet in the ſtockes, yea vvere they of maſsie gold. When the Romane Emperour Valerian (by the commandement of Sapores, King of Perſia) vvas bound in golden chaines, vvas he at more eaſe then if they had ben of yron? It is not the ſilken counterpoint, neither the teſter & valence of frized gold, or the Veluet, Sattin, or Damaske curtaines that make a mã to ſleep more ſweetly, then if the whole furniture vvere of ſay or broad cloth. If thy heart be in care, thy mind vvill be troubled vvith melancholy: if thy vvife be faire, ſhe vvill mend thy bed, but thy thoughts vvill be more troubled: if on the one ſide her beautie pleaſeth and comforteth thee, on the other it vvill hurt thee. Thy iealouſie and care how to keepe her, blotteth out the pleaſure that thou takeſt in lying vvith her, and many times thou iealous foole, in thy heart thou vvilt ſay, O honey vvilt thou neuer be free from gaule?

The

The third dutie of the Husband towards his Wife.

BEtween the husband and the wife, as concerning carnall copulation, there muſt bee ſuch a moderation, that there bee no vvant vvhen they are togither, as alſo that they bee able to forbear vvhen they be aſunder: yet muſt they ſo beare themſelues that as vvell abſent as preſent the one may be cõtent vvith the other. The ground of this law is this, If they vſe it too much vvhen they are togither, they ſhal hardly forbeare vvhen they be aſunder, for cuſtome is another nature. Maried vviues doe ſometimes, and not vvithout cauſe, complain of their husbands that find cauſe to abridge their vviues of their coniugall dutie, vnder colour of deuotion: others that alledge the dog daies, vvherein the powers are greatly diſſolued, and therefore is nature then vveake: others that they are ſicke, and therefore muſt goe into the country to take the aire: others vpon friuolous occaſions lie aſunder: but ſuch euaſions doe but miniſter occaſion to the vvife to ſeeke her fortun elſewhere, and to borrow of ſuch a one as if neither the feare of God, nor his own honor doe reſtraine him, feare not the Ægyptian *Caniculer*

nicular daies, neither the course of the Moone. *Pliny* in his naturall historie saith, That man is in Winter more prone to carnall copulation, & woman in summer. The same said *Hesiodus* before; and his commenter, who forming a reason for it, saith, That man is naturally whote & drie, and the summer being likewise whote and drie, drieth him vp the more, and so consumeth his courage, which maketh him the more vnwilling thereto: That woman is naturally cold and moist, as is likewise winter, and that the moisture and cold of winter maketh her more cold and moist, and consequently lesse apt to the said action. Furthermore, that the fittest and most cõuenient time for generatiõ is the spring, as being in qualities more temperate Againe, women are tenne times more subiect to these things then men, especially when they are with child, for then the seed conceiued, moueth the sinewes, whichby confrication moueth the apperite and desire. Carnall cõmixtion (saith *Celsus*) must be neither too much nor too litle; slow and rare raiseth the body, but too often pulleth it downe. For little or much, nature teacheth sufficiently; whõ the wise man that loues his life will neuer vexe. The night is the fittest & safest time, and the winter better thẽ the summer. Immediately after the action, all labour is hurtfull,

and

and reſt is fitteſt: but to vſe it immediately after meat is very vnwholeſome, becauſe the concuſsion and motion requiſit, corrupteth diſgeſtion. A Greeke Philoſopher ſaith, So much time as a man ſpendeth in that action, ſo much doth he cut off frō his life. All vvindie meat, as Peaſe, Beanes, Lintils, Raddiſh, Turneps, &c. do prouoke, and in that regard ſuch as had vowed virginitie or chaſtitie, vvere forbidden to eat the ſame, as in old time the Veſtall Virgines & ſuch others, that purpoſed to preſerue their chaſtity as *Plutarch* in his Romane problemes doth report. The ſame Authour in his booke of naturall things doth ſay, That fatietie is the companion of luſt, and the hungrie man is verie vnfit thereunto, ſo he muſt be vvell fed, for of abundance of food groweth plentie of ſeed. Wee haue a common Prouerbe, The full paunch is readie to dance. The Poet ſaith, Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus quaileth. True it is neuertheleſſe, that exceſsiue eating and drinking, make a man vnfit for generation. *Ariſtotle* in his Prouerbes ſaith, That the drunken man can not engender, neither is his ſeed fruitfull: and that vvas it that made Alexander vnable to engender, for hee vſed to bee drunke, as *Plutarch* ſaith in his booke of the preſeruation of health: albeit the ſame Authour ſeeketh to excuſe him

of

of drunkenneſſe in his book of the vertue and fortunes of Alexander. Of Alexanders drunkenneſſe and intemperancie, hath the learned *Celius* in the 30 Chapter of his 15 booke of Auncient readings, ſpoken at large. *Pliny* an Authour of great aucthoritie in the fifth of the foureteenth of his Naturall hyſtorie ſaith, That through drunkenneſſe Alexander with his owne hand ſlew many of his friends. Venerie is alſo to old men hurtfull, and to them that be decrepit, rancke poyſon: becauſe being drie, the ſame drieth them more. The aforenamed great Alexander when his Paraſites perſuaded him to thinke himſelfe a god, ſaid, That by two things eſpecially he knew himſelfe to be a man and no god, namely, by ſleepe and carnal luſts. *Socrates* being old and crooked, gaue thankes to old age that it had freed him from the bondage of a furious lord, that was, his appetite and carnall deſires.

The fourth dutie of the Husband toward his Wife:

THe fourth dutie of the Husband to his Wife is this, Let him that mindeth to marrie, marrie a Virgine rather then a wyidow, in caſe hee liſt to bring his wife to his Law, and

frame her to his owne conditions, vvhereto he ſhall not ſo eaſily vvinne her that hath ben maried, in that ſhe hath before framed her ſelfe to the conditions of hir firſt husband, or him that had her maidenhead. This Law is taken out of the auncient Poet *Heſiodus*, vvho vſed this ſentence.

Let him that his wife to his bent will draw,
Match with a virgine, and keepe her in aw.

True it is, *Heſiodus* might haue done vvell if he had to his former ſpeeches added this which followeth:

Yet many times the moſt ſubtle and ſlie,
In ſuch like hazards are matched awry.

The Romanes vſed vvith the crown of chaſtity (as they tearmed it) to crowne ſuch vviues as after their husbands deaths, liued in perpetuall vvidowhead: vvhereto the Storke, Doue, and Turtle did inuite them, vvho after the loſſe of their mate (male or female) kept perpetuall continency and vvidowhead: in regard vvherof Nature hath vouchſafed to adorne them vvith a ſmall circle or coller of ſpeciall feathers, that they vveare about their neckes as a reward for their continency and chaſtity. The Author of the booke, tearmed by the Greeke vvord

Phiſiologus,

Phiſiologus, reporteth, that it is a matter tried and experimented, that after the Turtle hath loſt her mate, ſhe neuer brancheth vpō a green bough, but alwaies ſeeketh the ſeare and vvithered (vvhich is a wonderfull ſecret in nature) therein declaring her ſorrow and heauineſſe. As for that vvherof *Heſiodus* ſpeaketh of the wiues conformity to her husbands conditions; reaſon requireth that as the ſenſual appetite ought to conforme it ſelfe to reaſon, and not reaſon to it, ſo is euery honeſt vvoman to conforme her ſelfe to her husbands conditions, not her husbands to hers. This continency among the reſt, did the vviſe Romane *Valeria* the ſiſter of the Meſſalus obſerue, of vvhom the Poet *Tibullus* in many of his vvorkes againſt ſuch as hauing ben maried and fallen into vvidowhead, and marie againe, dooth make moſt honourable mention. Hereof did the young *Beroaldus* make a double meeter, vvhich in regard it is ſo vvell compact, deſerueth to be here inſerted:

Qui ſemel vxorem duxit, quæritque ſecundam,
Naufragus ille iterum naufragium ſequitur.

The meaning whereof vve haue after a ſort ſet downe in the verſe following:

That man that once from mariage free,
yet hasteth to that paine,
The wracked man resembleth much,
that wrecke doth seeke againe.

The fift duty of the Husband toward his Wife.

THe fift dutie of the Husband to his Wife is this, That as the manners of the married must not bee prowd and arrogant, so must not their garments and attire shewe any token of presumption or disguisement, exceeding the bounds of honestie: for such disguisement in apparrell, better beseemeth plaiers of tragedies, satires, or comedies, which in our language vve tearme moralities, follies, and enterludes. Now if the husband be to obserue modestie in his apparrell, much more the vvoman, and the rather because vve doe plainly see, that Nature hath alwaies beautified the male aboue the female. As among foure footed beasts, the horse is alwaies faire, and by nature better set forth then the mare: among Foules the Peacocke in his feathering doth farre surpasse the Pehenne, the dunghill cocke the henne, &c. It is a great abuse for a vvoman to seeke to please her husband rather in her apparell,

rell, then her vertues. For to bee chaſt, diſcreet, diligent, and faithfull to her husband, is farre more to be eſteemed then to be vvell apparrelled, combed, decked vp and painted. And I could vviſh euery married vvife to take example in the diſcreet anſwere of Cornelia, a Romane Ladie, and vvife to Paulus *Æmilius*, and the ſame to vvrite in her heart: This it vvas, On a certaine time another Ladie ſhewed to the ſaid Cornelia her Rings, Iewels, Precious ſtones, Tires, Robes and Garments, deſiring her likewiſe to ſhew hers, Cornelia ſaid ſhee vvould, but ſhe muſt tarrie vntill her children came from ſchoole. They being come, ſhee tooke her by the hand and ſaid, Ladie, Theſe (ſhewing her little ones vvell brought vp and nurtured) be my Rings, my Iewels, my Precious ſtones, my Garments, and my Delights, vvhich I eſteeme aboue all the Stones, Gold, and Siluer in the vvorld. *Xenophon* in his ordering of a houſhold ſaith, As in the inward manners there muſt bee no diſſembling, ſo in the outward apparrell there muſt be no diſſoluteneſſe, for the garments muſt concurre with the manners. Otherwiſe it is as in the Theatres among plaiers of Enterludes and Tragedies, vvhere ſometimes the Artificer ſhall act the perſonage of Agamemnon or Cæſar, and be ap-

parelled in purple vvith a crowne on his head, yet vnder all this rich attire hee ſhall be but an artificer or meane perſon. Vpon this ſpeech vve are to note, that Alexander in his geniall daies and the fift booke, reporteth that in old time in Rome honeſt vvomen vvere knowne from harlots by their haire; for the honeſt vvould haue their haire blacke, but the diſſolute and harlots, yellow, or flaxen: And ſhe vvho by nature could not haue ſuch as were requiſite, vvould very artificially counterfeit them: neither vvill any thing make haire more blacke then the iuice of the inward barke of Walnuts vvhile they bee new, and that it is a die vvhich vvill not bee eaſily vvaſhed away: vvhereof alſo the ſweet Poet *Tibullus* hath made mention in his Elegies. In our daies the Ladies of the Court haue accounted a blacke haire to be a great beauty, and for that purpoſe did make great vſe of leaden combes. *Arnald de villa Noua*, for making of flaxen haire, hath made much adoe in his booke of painting and adorning of vvomen; vvhich I haue here ſet down, becauſe ſome vviſe vvoman reading our vvritings, may peraduenture ſtand in need of our aduertiſement: Whom if it ſhould ſo fall out, I vvould ſend to the booke of the ſaid Authour: but if ſhe vnderſtand no Latine, yet let

her

her get ſome friend of hers to tranſlate it, for therein ſhal ſhe find many good experiments, as vvell for her haire and breaſts, as for other her more ſecret parts. Furthermore, Becauſe the ſuperfluity and ouer-rich pompe of garments, eſpecially of vvomen, may be pernitious to euery Commonweale (for husbands do for the moſt part ſo dote in the loue of their vviues, that they morgage and ſell their inheritance to put it vpon their vviues backes and heads) vve are to note that the Athenians endeuoured to prouide againſt ſuch ſuperfluity and diſorder in garments, vvhen in their Commonweale they created officers (by a Greeke vvoord, tearmed *Gyneconomes*) vvho had in charge to ſee that the Athenian vviues vſed no greater pompe in iewels and garments, then might ſtand with the eſtate of their husbands: as alſo they vvere by their aucthority to puniſh as vvell the husbands as the vviues that tranſgreſſed their order. The Romanes did in part imitate the Greekes, for at Rome their Cenſors had like aucthoritie and charge, as the *Gyneconomes* at Athens. Marcus Oppius, and T. Romuleius, Tribunes of the people, made a Lawe concerning the modeſtie of vvomens appartell and iewels, vvhen Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius vvere Conſuls, euen

in

in the cheefeſt heat of the Punicke vvarre, and thereby reduced the Romane commonvveale to greater felicitie. M. Fundanius, and L. Valerius, Tribunes, endeuoured to aboliſh the ſaid Law *Oppia*, alledging that vpon the ceaſing of the publicke calamitie, the ſeueritie of the law ought alſo to ceaſe. But againſt them M. Cato made a moſt eloquent oration, as vve may read in the fourth Decade of Titus Liuius. The Venetians, men of great prouidence and forecaſt, haue euen to this day certaine officers expreſly aucthoriſed in like charge, as the Athenians and Romanes, to reſtraine and moderate the exceſſe in apparrell, iewels and embroderie of vvomen, as *Will. Poſtell* reporteth in his Athenian commonweale, dedicated to Poyet, late chancellor of France. The French men are loth to be behind in like prouidence, for in the daies of Charles the ſixt there was an edict publiſhed for reformation of apparrell, as likewiſe there vvas (vvhiles I vvrit this booke) another publiſhed by king Henry the ſecond.

Now after the duties of the Husband to the Wife, vvee muſt conſequently proceed to the duties of the Wife to her Husband, to the end our preſent diſcourſe may be euery vvay accõpliſhed.

The

The firſt dutie of the Wife towards her Husband.

THe firſt dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this: That ſhee take the care and charge of all domeſticall buſineſſe that priuately and perticularly belongs to her houſe, and ſo become Miſtreſſe and Gouerneſſe of the ſame: reſeruing to her Husband the charge and care of all things vvithout the dores. The maried Wife is to haue the rule and ouerſight of the houſhold, that is, her huswiferie; becauſe the practiſe thereof is more conuenient and fit for her ſexe, then for her Husband: I meane not of ſuch baſe matters as fit not her calling, as the ſweeping of the houſe, the waſhing of the diſhes, ſcouring of pots and ſuch like, vvhich are to bee performed by the ſeruants or skullions, not by the miſtreſſes: vvhereagainſt the Romane law tooke order, vvhich ordained that honeſt Romane vviues ſhould be exempt from grinding, kneading, baking, and playing the skuls in the kitchen, for ſo ſhould the eſtate of an honeſt huswife be abaſed and grow into contempt. Well, the duty of the honeſt maried vvife, is to take the charge and ouerſight of the domeſtical affairs.

as is aforesaid, and to keepe her selfe vvithin dores, and not to gad abroad. For vvhat hath an honest woman to do roming vp and down the streets, sith shee hath not to doe vvith any thing vvithout the dores? Is it for a husbandman to prate and discourse in Schooles and Colledges, vvhere there is nothing for him to looke vpon or to do? The Beotians had a custome, that vvhen the bride first entred her husbands house, she should bring in one hand water, in another fire: But vvhat meant that misterie? The meaning vvas, that as fire purgeth, & vvater cleanseth; so the wife must be pure and chast, washed and purged from all reproch: albeit both in my Metamorphoses, and in this book I haue otherwise expounded it. The Arabians, Grecians, and Italians doe vsually keepe their vviues shut vp in their houses, almost as prisoners, and now likewise the Turks, as *Antony Geffrey* in his new hystorie of Turkie doth report. The Germanies and French doe giue their wiues liberty to goe vvhere they list. *Gilbert Grap* in his Oeconomicall Commentaries saith, That in Gascoine the vviues are in no subiection at all, but gad vp and downe at their pleasures like the ancient Amazons: but I haue had more conuersation among them then he, yet did I neuer see that they had more libertie

then

then other vvomen. Before I end this particuler, vve are to note, that *Diodore* the Sicilian in his hiſtories doth report, That Iſis Queene of Ægypt made a law, that vpon the mariage day the husband ſhould take a ſolemne oath betweene his wiues hands, that hee ſhould not meddle with any houſhold affaires, and the vvife likewiſe betweene her husbands hands, that ſhee ſhould neuer entermeddle vvith anie forren affaires or buſineſſe.

The ſecond duty of the wife towards her husband.

THe ſecond dutie of the vvife to the Husband, is this: That ſhee ſuffer not any to come into the houſe without expreſſe licence or commandement of her husband: for euerie honeſt vvoman is to feare the common report that is made of the wantonneſſe of women, & muſt endeuour to her power to make the euill ſpeakers (that can ſing no other ſong but the incontinency of vvomen) liers: as alſo ſhee is to conceale all domeſticall vvants, and not to publiſh them abroad. Bearing her ſelfe in this manner, if any reproch or diſhonour ſhould fall out by any that commeth in, the blame ſhould light vpon her husband, and not vpon her.

The third dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe third dutie is this: That ſhee ouerſee the houſhold expences, namely, vpon the ſolemne and feaſtiuall daies, but ſo as her husband giue her leaue. The reaſon of this dutie is grounded vpon this, That the vvife ſhall thinke vpon many ſmall trifles and buſineſſe of the houſe, vvhich the husband cannot in honour looke into, as linnen both for the table and the bed; beſides, ſhe ſhall ſooner find out the craft and deceit of ſeruants, men or women, then her husband. Of ſuch deceits of ſeruants hath the Comicall Poet *Terence* vvritten moſt eloquently, as alſo of late daies *Æneas Siluius*, ſince called *Pius* the ſecond, in his ſmall tract of the loues of Eurialus and Lucretia. Another reaſon may be this, that vpon feaſtiuall daies they commonly vſe a more bountifull diet thē vpon vvorking daies, and then if the vvife haue the ordering of the expence, ſhe vvill be more ſparing thē her husband. For the vvomankind (but I know no reaſon for it) is more nigardly then the maſculine: and then albeit the vvife be more hard then her husband, yet ſhall no ſuch hardneſſe be a reproch to her, as it vvould be to her husband.

The fourth dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe fourth dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this; That she be not so sumptuous in her apparell as the law or custome of the countrie dooth permit: And the rather, because rich embroderie and precious cloths, or bodily beautie, are no such commendation to a woman, as modestie, which consists both in deeds, words, gesture, and garments. The gorgeous attire of women, doe make men more dissolute and bent to lust, namely, when they build wide windowes for their breasts, and giue their eies liberty to wander. The open breasts, the naked stomacke, the frizeld haire, and especially the wanton eie, and lasciuious or shameless countenance, are the forerunners of Adulterie: If you will not beleeue me, read *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, and *Ouid*, and you shall find it so.

The fift duty of the Wife to her Husband.

THe fift dutie of the Wife to her husband is this, That in all forraine affaires and businesse shee entermeddle not, neither take anie ouersight, but reserue the same to the diligent

care of her husband, contenting her ſelfe vvith the adminiſtration and gouernement of her houſhold buſineſſe. The ground of this dutie is this, That as it beſeemeth not the husband to meddle in the trifling buſineſſe of the houſe, ſo is it as vnſeemly for the vvoman to take the administration and dealing in forraine affaires In this regard hath nature formed the body of the woman more delicate, weak, and of leſſe force then the mans, that ſhee ſhould not buſie her ſelfe in ſuch affaires as need to bee followed abroad or managed without dores: but the body of man ſhe hath made more rough, ſtrong, and boiſterous, to the end hee ſhould bee able to trauell vp and downe in the wind and raine, and many times in forrain countries to get a liuing as well for himſelfe as his family; vvhich he could neuer do to his good, were his body delicat, tender and vnable to bear out the toile, as his wiues is. O good God! how hath nature prouided? or rather God himſelfe her Creator?

The ſixt duty of the Wife towards her Husband.

THe ſixt dutie of a woman to her husband is this: That ſhe wholly obey her husband, euen in thoſe things that concerne forrain buſineſſe, and without dores. Yet we doe read of ſome maried wiues among the Romanes of ſuch

ſuch impudency & raſhneſſe, that leauing their houſhold affaires they aduentured to runne to the hals & iudgement ſeats at Rome to plead, and contrary to all duty of honeſty, to practiſe the office of aduocats, as among others Ameſia, Hortenſia, and Afrania. And albeit ſome commended their courage, eloquence, and ready wits, yet did more contemne their impudence and raſhneſſe, and among a fewe that praiſed them, they found an infinite number of reproouers. Euen for the honeſtie of the feminine ſexe, I will not ſpeake of the report of the Lawyer in the Pandects, cõcerning the ſhameleſſe Calphurnia, and the part that ſhee plaied as plaintife. Againe, No honeſt married vvife is to deale in the affaires of the Commonweale, much leſſe to meddle with making of marriages, vnleſſe for her owne children and ſeruants, vvherin ſhe muſt alſo referre her ſelfe to the diſcretion of her husband, leaſt ſhee incurre the name of a harebraine.

The ſeuenth duty of the Wife to her Husband.

THe ſeuenth dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this: That ſhe account the conditions of her Husband to be the lawes of her life. Theſe, if they bee good, ſhee muſt vvholly imitate

imitate, if bad, ſhe muſt patiently beare them, for in ſo doing, ſhee ſhall order her houſhold vvell; if contrariwiſe, euill.

The eight dutie of the Wife to her Husband.

THe eight dutie of the married Wife to her Husband is this: That ſhe loue, eſteeme, & honour him; that ſhe loue him as her ſelfe, that ſhe eſteeme him as from vvhom ſhee taketh all her credite and honour, that ſhee honour him as her liefeſt lord, not in proſperitie onely, but alſo in aduerſitie. If her husband chance to be poor, needie, diſeaſed, or otherwiſe diſtraught, ſhe muſt not therefore deride him, as *Iobs* wife did, neither taunt him as the good and holy man Tobias vvife did, but ſhee ought alwaies to vſe him with gentle words, & to cheriſh him as a part of her owne bodie: So if God afterward bleſſe him vvith vvealth, or reſtore him to health, if he be not a very beaſt, hee vvill thinke himſelfe much beholding to his vvife for her attendance in his ſickneſſe, or for bearing vvith his vvants in his pouertie. Beſides, that the wife is to conſider, that vertue cannot bee ſo vvell knowne in proſperitie, as in aduerſitie. The good ſeaman is neuer knowne in a calme, but vvhen the ſea is troubled, and in the ſtorme.

The

The good Captaine or Souldior ſheweth his valour in the field, and the good Phiſition his skill vvhen the diſeaſe is in moſt force. Vertue, (ſaith the Prouerbe) is in proſperity blaſted, but flouriſheth in aduerſity. Proſperity (ſayth the Philoſopher) purchaſeth friends, but aduerſity trieth them. Each wiſe Wife is to conſider, that the vertuous *Alceſt*, and chaſt *Penelope*, had neuer purchaſed their eternall glory, had their husbands *Admetus* and *Vliſſes* ben alwaies fortunate: for their misfortunes vvrought their Wiues good in the purchaſe of their good names and immortall fame. I vvill not ſpeake of the vviſdome of Andromache and Hiphias, vvho ſhall liue in glory ſo long as the vvorkes of *Homer* and *Ouid* ſhall remaine. Neither vvill I, to cloſe vp this diſcourſe, let paſſe the report of Atheneus, concerning a vvoman called Theana, vvho being demanded vvhat maried Wife deſerued commendation, anſwered, She that medleth only vvith her rocke and ſpindle, that loueth onely her husbands bed, and keepeth her tongue in quiet. In the Catalogue of honeſt maried wiues, vve read of Euadue the wife of Capaneos, the aforenamed Alceſt and Penelope; and Laomedia the vvife of Proteſilaus. Of the Romane vviues that yet liue in good name, vvee haue Caia the vvife of Tar-

quin, Lucrece the vvife of Colatine, Portia the vvife of Brutus, Sulpitia the vvife of Paterculus, Æmilia the vvife of Scipio, and Iulia the vvife of Pompey. Of ſtrangers and Barbarians all the Sibils, of vvhom *Varro* and *Lactantius* make honourable mention, as alſo Saint *Auguſtine* in his City of God. Many Amazons haue ben famous, as vvell for valour as chaſtity. *Camilla* deſerued to be commended in *Virgils* verſes, as did alſo *Caſſandra*, King *Priamus* daughter. The Sabine vviues, both by Poets and Hiſtoriographers, haue been famous for their chaſtity, ſobriety, and diligence. What els ſhall vve ſay? The vviues of Sparta are reported in the feminine ſexe to haue maſculine courages. How deerely did *Hipſicratea* loue her husband *Mithridates*, and *Artemiſia Mauſolus*? What courage and skill in Armes had *Thomiris* the Queene of Scythia, and *Semiramis* Queene of the Aſſyrians? To ſpeake of learned vvomen, *Corinna*, *Sapho*, *Aſpaſia*, *Arcta*, *Cleobula*, Queene *Zenobia*, and *Cleopatra*, haue by learning made their ſexe famous. *Hortenſia* and *Cornelia* are accounted among the cheeſe Oratours of Rome. *Paulina* and *Polla* the vviues of *Seneca* and *Lucan*, ſhall for doctrine liue vvith all poſterity. *Textor* in his Officicie maketh notable mention of the

lear-

learning and vertue of a Ladie of Millane, named *Trivulce*, vvho in our time vvas vvell ſeene in all good letters. What ſhall vve ſay to the knowledge and ripe vvit of *Margaret* of Valois, late Queene of Nauarre, as her vvorkes vvill for euer teſtifie vnto all poſterity, and I haue more amplie and at large declared in my Conſolatorie Epiſtle vpon her deceaſſe, directed to the renowmed and moſt noble Prince and Lord Anthony of Bourbon, Duke of Vandoſme. If vvee ſhould here bring in ſuch as not long before the daies of our fathers, haue ſhewed their courage and skill in Armes, *Margaret* the vvife of *Henrie* the ſixt of that name, King of England, in a pitched field recouered the victorie vvhich her husband had loſt through puſillanimity. I vvill not ſpeake of the vertue, valour, or chaſtity of *Joane* the Puſelle (vvho expelled the Engliſh out of France, and by valour and force of armes reſtored *Charles* the ſeuenth into his royall ſeat and Kingdome) becauſe moſt Hiſtoriographers, both French and forren, haue ſo largely and eloquently ſpoken thereof, that I ſhall not need to ſay any more thereof: Beſides that the Poet *Valerand* hath very eloquently vvritten thereof in Heroicall verſe,

of whose worke, notwithstanding whatsoeuer diligence, I could neuer recouer but some fragments.

Of the institution and bringing vp of children.

HAuing intreated of Parents, wee are consequently to proceed to the children. Of the institution of children and their bringing vp, many excellent Authours both Greekes and Latines, old and new, haue written sundry discourses. Of the Greekes, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* in his Politickes, *Xenophon* in his first booke of the schoole of *Cyrus*, but *Plutarch* a most excellent Oratour and Grecian Philosopher, hath written a most learned booke purposedly. Of the Latines, *Quintilian* in his Oratorie institutions hath argued most learnedly, as also long since *Maphe Vegien* datarie to Pope *Martin* the fift, hath argued and written a booke thereof, wherein he hath so largely discoursed of that matter, that he hath cut off all hope from any other to mend him: notwithstanding, *Vergerius*, and Pope *Pius* the second, before called *Æneas Siluius*, haue expressely written thereof, as may euidently appeare to any that list at large to read that dis-

diſcourſe. Here might vve find place conuenient to diſcourſe at large of ſeruants, men and vvomen, and of their fidelity due to their Maiſters and Miſtreſſes, likewiſe how their Maiſters are to intreat them: Howbeit, in regard of other matter more difficult, vve vvill referre thee to the Oeconomicall vvorkes of *Ariſtotle* and *Xenophon*, vvho haue handled the ſame both learnedly and eloquently, eſpecially *Xenophon* in his moſt excellent Dialogue of houſhold affaires.

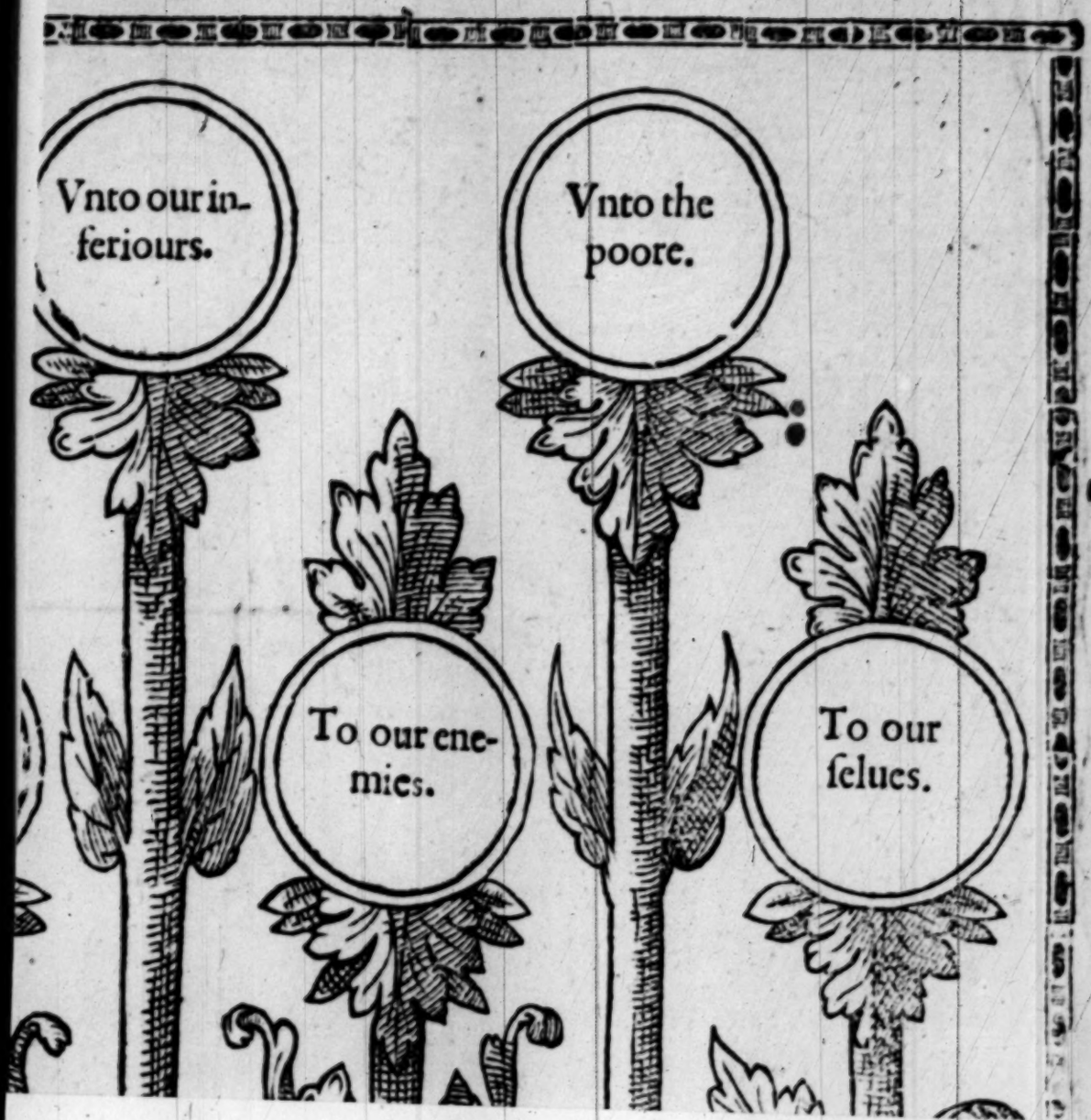
PRoceeding to our principall purpoſe: We haue heretofore ſufficiently declared, that ſedition is the plague to all Commonweales, alſo that the mark vvherat euery good and politicke adminiſtrator of a Commonvveale ſhould aime, is to preſerue his Cittizens in vnity. We haue alſo ſhewed the meanes how to doe it, and at large laid downe the cauſes that mooue Citizens to ſedition, and diſperſe all politicke vnity. Novv are vve to vnderſtand, that vnity doth as farre differ from duality and plurality, as God doth differ from the Chaos; and that there is as great a ſeparation between the Creator and the things created, as betweene vnity and plurality. Vnity (as the ſubtile Mathematician *Charles Bouill* in his book

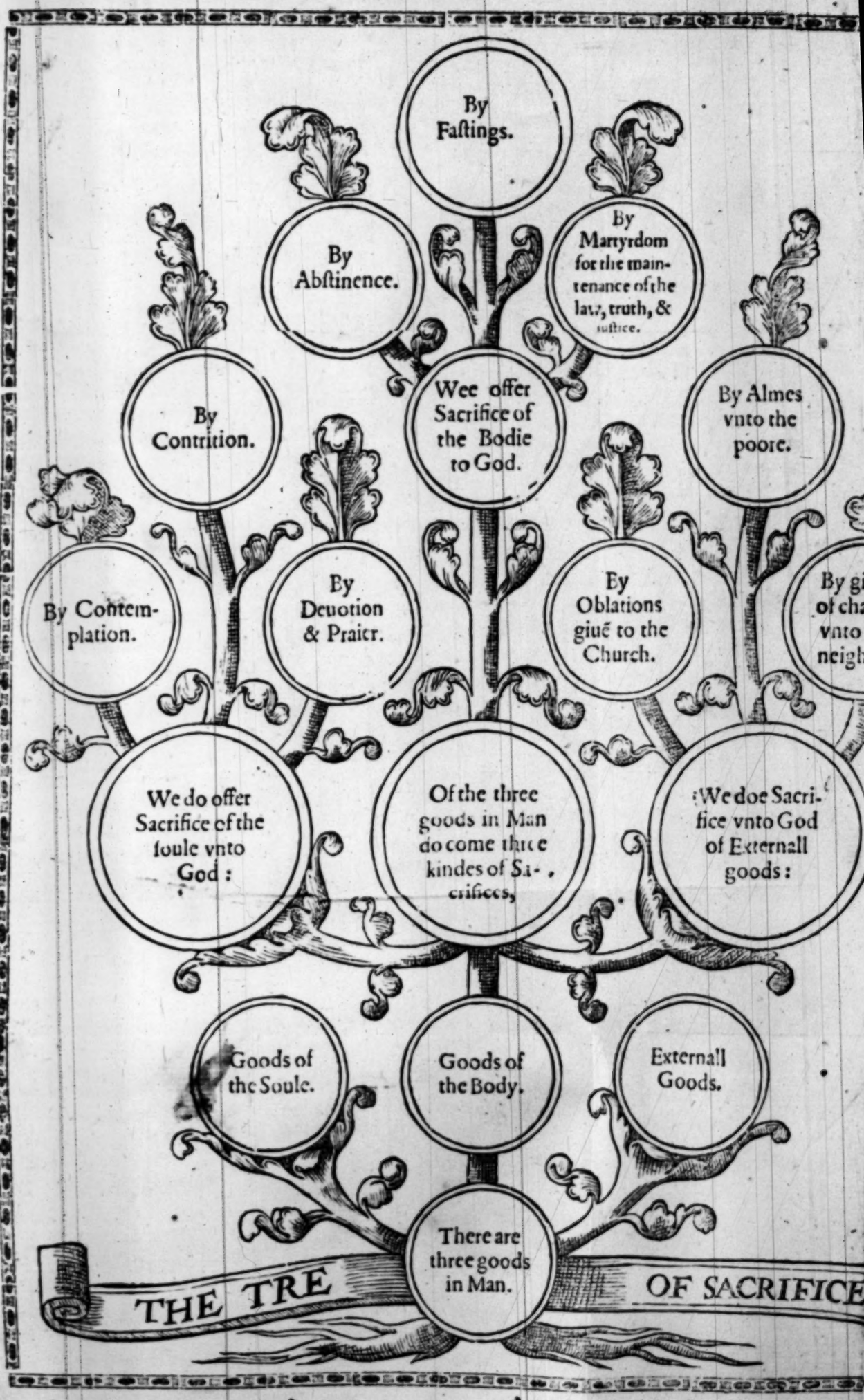
of numbers, doth teach) is the fountain and originall of it ſelf, and like as all things do proceed from God, ſo do al numbers proceed from vnity, and fall back thereinto again: For let vs caſt as many numbers togither as we liſt, yet at the laſt we ſhall haue but one ſumme. Thus there ſtill remaineth an infallible vnity. Now among all other numbers we find the number of ſeuen to containe great miſteries. *Ariſtotle* reporteth, That the ancients named their children the ſeuenth day after their birth, in the Vniuerſity of creatures we find the number of ſeuen, the skie is guided by ſeuen plannets, the earth is deuided by ſeuen climates, the world fulfilleth his courſe and mans life by ſeuen ages, the reuolution of Time is finiſhed in ſeuen daies (the accompliſhment vvhereof vve call Week.) The ſonne of man, as we read in the Reuelation, held the ſeuen Starres in his right hand, and vvalked betweene the ſeuen candleſtickes: iuſt
7000 ſeuen ~~hundred~~ men did God reſerue, that neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*: neither vvas the number of *Jobs* ſeuen ſonnes void of a myſtery. *Thobie* maketh mention of ſeuen Angels alwaies in the preſence of God. *Zachary* the Prophet likewiſe maketh mention of the ſeuen eies of God, looking ouer all the earth. *Pharoah* in his ſleepe ſaw ſeuen fat kine, and ſeuen leane.

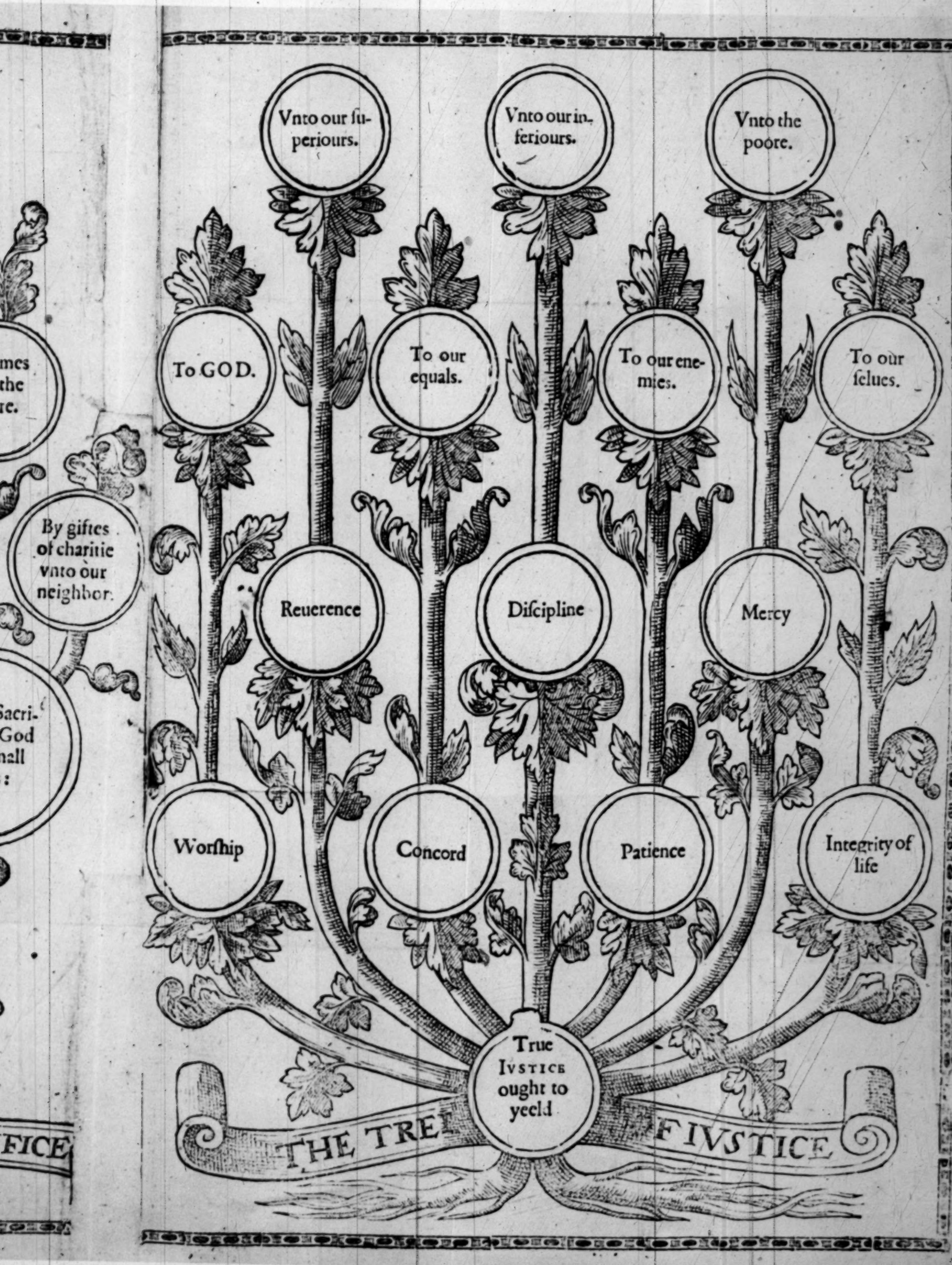
leane. The creatures incloſed in *Noahs* Arke, vvent by ſeuens. The Reuelation ſpeaketh of ſeuen Dragons heads, vvearing Crownes: Likewiſe of ſeuen Angels, bearing the ſeuen Vials of Gods vvrath. *Dauid* commanded ſeuen men of the ſonnes of *Saule* to be hanged, as vve may read in the booke of Kings. What more ſhall vve ſpeake of the dignity of this ſeuenfold number? All vertues are contracted into ſeuen, three Theologall, and foure Cardinall. At the entry into the Temple there vvere ſeuen ſteppes. The hungry multitude vvere filled vvith ſeuen loaues. Neither muſt I omit the ſeuen gifts of the Holy-ghoſt, the ſeuen orders of the Church, ſeuen vvorkes of mercy, the ſeuenth day vvhich God hallowed to reſt, yet vvill I not ſpeake of the ſeuen mortall ſinnes, vvith ſundry other ſeptenaries mentioned by the Philoſophers and Phiſitions. Of Phiſitions, *Valeſcus de Taranta* in the Prologue of his Philonium, hath gathered a heape of Septenaries, as alſo the great and ſoueraigne Mathematician *Macrobius*. Sith therefore our moſt good and moſt mightie God hath vouchſafed and graunted ſo highlie to grace this ſeuenfold number, that the holie Scripture is full thereof, it is not to be maruailed at therefore, that hee hath alſo

vvilled

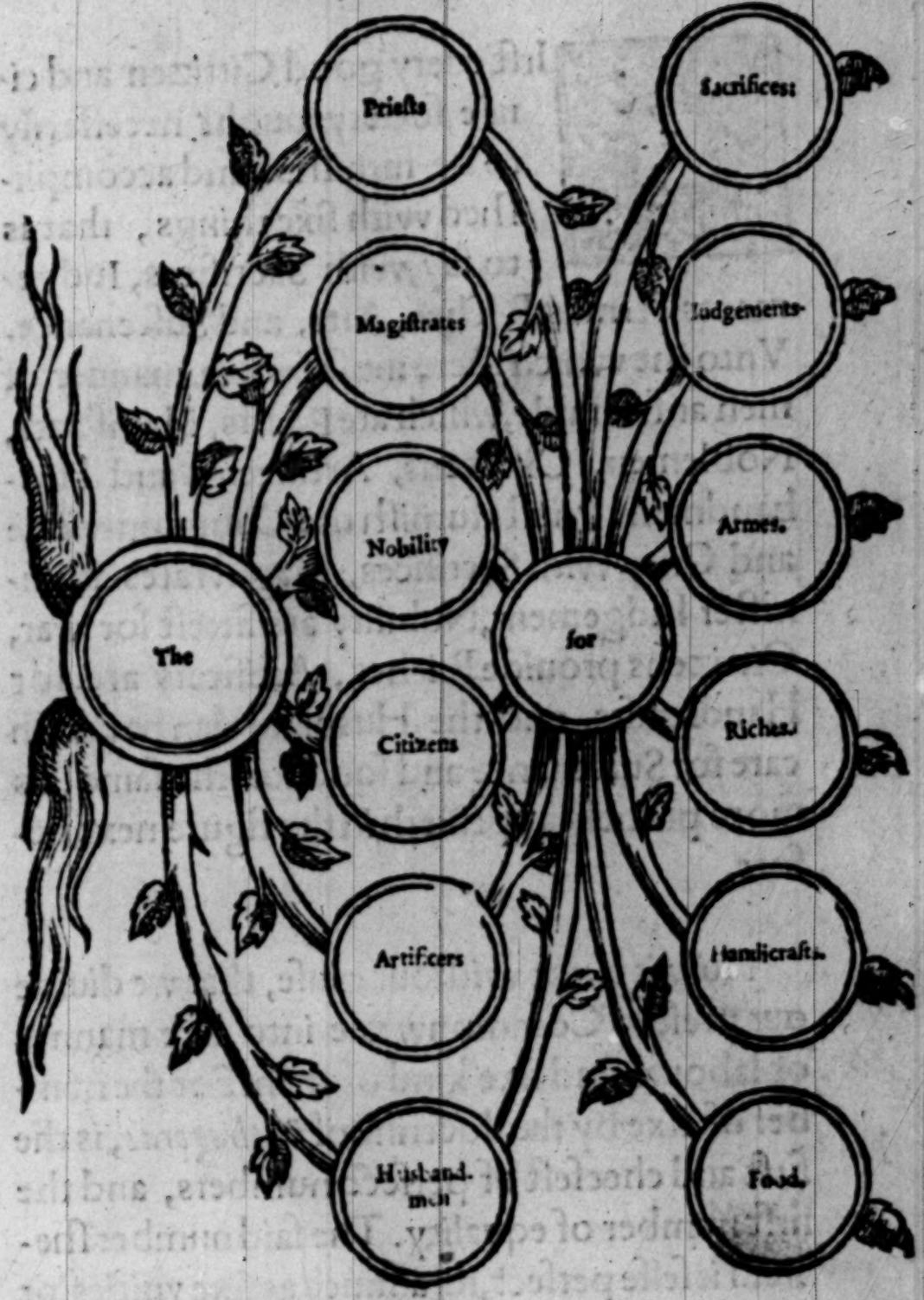
vvilled the harmony of this vvorld to be preserued by seuen vnities: namely, the vnion Naturall, the vnity Coniugall, the vnity Regular, Parsonall, Essentiall, Ecclesiastical, and the vnity Politicke, vvhereof only in this place vve do intreat. Novv concerning the same, albeit euery City and Commonvveale do consist of many aud sundry persons, yet is it requisit that their plurality be reduced to an vnity, that is to say, to one consent and vvill, othervvise, it can inioy no politicall harmony, as it is vvritten in the booke of Iudges, vvhere it is said, And all the host of Israel assembled in the City, euen as it had been but one man, vvith one consent and vvill. If (as vve read in the Gospel) a Kingdome diuided shall decay, it must necessarily ensue, that it must bee preserued by vnion, sith it is pulled dovvne vvith diuision. The inequality of Cittizens therefore must be vnited, as the picture ensuing doth declare, vvhich also for more ample demonstration, vve haue here set dovvne.


Vnto our in-
feriours.
Vnto the
poore.
To our ene-
mies.
To our
ſelues.


By Fastings.
By Abstinence.
By Martyrdom for the maintenance of the law, truth, & iustice.
By Contrition.
Wee offer Sacrifice of the Bodie to God.
By Almes vnto the poore.
By Contemplation.
By Deuotion & Praier.
By Oblations giuē to the Church.
We do offer Sacrifice of the soule vnto God:
Of the three goods in Man do come three kindes of Sacrifices,
We doe Sacrifice vnto God of Externall goods:
Goods of the Soule.
Goods of the Body.
Externall Goods.
There are three goods in Man.
THE TRE
OF SACRIFICE


Vnto our ſu-periours.
Vnto our in-feriours.
Vnto the poore.
To GOD.
To our equals.
To our ene-mies.
To our ſelues.
By giftes of charitie vnto our neighbor.
Reuerence
Diſcipline
Mercy
Worſhip
Concord
Patience
Integrity of life
True IVSTICE ought to yeeld
THE TREE OF IVSTICE

In the precedent figure, of our inuention, you may plainely perceiue the true fashion and image of euery good Common-weale. For euery Citty and ciuile Society which shall not bee instituted after the imitation thereof, can neuer come vnto an vnion and tranquility, but shall be subiect vnto partialities, scismes, diuisions, seditions, tumults, and lastly shall fall into vtter ruine, and miserable calamity.


Priests
Sacrifices
Magistrates
Iudgements
Nobility
Armes.
The
for
Citizens
Riches
Artificers
Handicrafts
Husband-
men
Food.

FIrſt euery good Cittizen and ciuile ſociety ought neceſſarily to be furniſhed and accompliſhed vvith ſixe things, that is to ſay, vvith Sacrifices, Iudgements, Armes, Riches, Arts, and Suſtenance. Vnto the vvhich there muſt be ſixe manner of men anſwerable, which are Prieſts, Magiſtrats, Noblemen, Cittizens, Artificers, and Husbandmen: Prieſts furniſh the Common-weale and Citty vvith Sacrifices, Magiſtrates adminiſter Iudgement, Nobility are fitteſt for war, Cittizens prouide Riches, Artificers are for Handicrafts, and the Husbandman he taketh care for Suſtenance and food for the ſame, as more plainely appeareth in the figure next before.

Now it is not vvithout cauſe, that we diuide our preſent Commonweale into ſixe manner of labours, and ſixe kind of men. For the number of ſixe by the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, is the firſt and cheefeſt of perfect numbers, and the firſt number of equality. The ſaid number ſheweth it ſelfe perfect, foraſmuch as ſixe vnities, or ſixe times one, are ſixe; and twiſe three is ſixe,

and

and three times two, are likewiſe ſix: and as *Boetius Seuerine* ſayth in his Arithmeticke, the number of ſixe hath an application vnto vertue: for as it exceedeth not ſuperfluouſly, ſo is it not the leaſt number, but amongſt the equal parts thereof, it holdeth the meane of excellency. Of this number of ſixe (after the auncient writers) Cardinall *Cuſan*, and *Charles Bouil* haue diſcourſed in their Mathematicall workes. The ſaid *Bouil* hath vvritten thereof ſince, imitating his Maiſter, the learned *Iacobus Faber Stapulenſis*, vvho in our time brought the Mathematicall vvorkes to light. Moreouer, it is not vvithout great reaſon, if our preſent Commonweale and City be made perfect by ſixe manner of Cittizens, ſeeing the moſt excellent and moſt mighty god in times paſt brought to perfection the vniuerſall building of this worldly houſe in ſixe daies, within which tearme the whole worke was fully framed. It is not then an vnſeemely thing to haue diuided our commonweale into ſixe neceſſary kind of labours by ſixe manner of men.

THe first and most necessary thing which is in euery City and Commonweale, is Sacrifice, and consequently Priests, which are the distributors thereof, as *Aristotle* expressely setteth down in the sixt book of his Politicks, where he saith, That it is a needfull thing in euery city to haue Priests, that may haue the charge of the gods and Sacrifices. The true Sacrifice (as sayth Saint *Augustine*, in the sixt booke *de Ciuitate Dei*) is euery work which we doe to be ioined vnto God by the holy society. And like as euery man hath three good parts in himselfe, the first of the soule, the second of the body, the third of the possession of externall things: likewise, we haue three sorts of Sacrifice, The first is of the Soule, the which we offer vnto God by Contrition, Deuotion, Contemplation, and Praier, and that is the cheefest Sacrifice of all: the second is of the body, the which we doe offer vnto God, by Fasting, Abstinence, or in suffering Martyrdome to maintaine his Lawe, Iustice, or Truth: The third is of outward goods,

when

vvhen vvee offer vnto him that vvhich hee hath beſtowed vpon vs, or vvhen vvee giue vnto the poore, or lend vnto our neighbors in charity. And foraſmuch (as *Ariſtotle* ſayth) That Eye demonſtration paſſeth all others, and carrieth vvith it greateſt force; We haue hervnto annexed the Tree of the three Goods belonging vnto man, anſwerable vnto the three Sacrifices.

That ſacrifices and Prieſts are neceſſary in euery good Commonweale, and vvell gouerned Citty, it appeareth by that (as *Lactantius Firmian* ſayth in his Diuine inſtitutions) vve read not that there hath been any Nation ſo rude, barbarous, or ſo farre from ciuility, that they haue not acknowledged ſome god, and vvhich hath not vſed to doe ſacrifice, and that conſequently haue not had Prieſts for the exerciſe of them, and proper ceremonies. Moreouer, like as vve haue had three Lawes, that is to ſay, the Law of Nature, the Law Written, and the Law of Grace: Likewiſe, in euery one of the ſaid Lawes, vve read that there haue been Sacrifices and Prieſts. In the Law of Nature, *Melchiſidech* vvas the firſt Prieſt, in the Law Written *Aaron*, in the Law of Grace (vnder vvhich vve liue) Ieſus Chriſt. The Ægyptians

vvho

vvho doe account themſelues to bee the firſt men of the vvorld, and the Aſſyrians, and in like ſort other Nations, accounted barbarous, as vvell by the Grecians as Romanes, vvere neuer vvithout Ceremonies, Sacrifices, and Prieſts, as may be ſeene by *Iamblicus* the Platonical Philoſopher in his booke of Myſteries. The Grecians vvhich vvere a long time Monarchs of the vvhole vvorld before the Roman Empire, had Sacrifices, Prieſts, proper and peculiar Ceremonies, as appeareth by *Proclus*, *Pſellus*, *Dioniſius Halicarnaſius*, *Plutarch*, and others. The Romans vvhich ſucceeded the Grecian Monarchy, had likewiſe Sacrifices, & proper Ceremonies, the which were firſt inſtituted by *Faunus* the auncient King of the Latins, vvho began to reduce the men vvhich then liued brutiſhly to ſome litle ciuility and Religion of gods, although ſome doe ſay, That before *Faunus*, *Ianus* had brought into vſe the vvorſhipping and Religion of the gods. I omit the other Sacrifices (or to ſay better) ſuperſtitions, and Diabolicall illuſions, as the vvorſhipping and ceremony of the *Lupercj*, the worſhipping of *Pauliceus*, the Veſtall Virgines, and others ſince inſtituted by *Numa Pompilius* the ſecond King of the Romanes. *Virgil* the Prince of Latine Poets, reheaſeth many ſorts of auncient

Sacrifices,

Sacrifices, made as well by *Æneas*, *Dido* Queen of Carthage, by King *Latinus*, and *Euander*, as by others, following *Homer* the father of learning. *Macrobius* likewise in his Banquiets and Saturnial feasts, reciteth many things of Sacrifices, and diuerse sorts of sacrificing of those of times past. Priests in euery good Commonweale and Citty ought to haue the cheefest and most honourable place, and ought to be honored and reuerenced of all: and when they are such as they ought to be (as Saint *Paule* saith, writing to *Timothie*) they deserue to haue double honour, especially vvhen they read or preach the Gospell, and vvhen as their vvorks and manner of liuing are conformable and agreeable to their doctrine or preachings. On the contrary (as Saint *Hierome* saith in his Cõmentaries vpon *Ezechiel*) great is the dignity of Priests, but as great is their fall if they be wicked. If Priests and Prelates do reioice at their aduauncement, they ought to feare to fall: for the ioy of their exalting is not so great, as is the sorrow for their subuersion. Let then Prelates and Priests of our Commonweale bee very carefull, that they sit not in the chaire of Scorners, vvhereof the Kingly Prophet *Dauid* speaketh in his first Psalme: and besides, that God at the last generall iudgement, doe

not ſay and reprooue them, That they haue ſate in their Pontificall ſeats, as in times paſt the Scribes and Phariſees did in the ſeat of *Moyſes*.

THe ſecond neceſſarie thing in euery Cõmonweale and Citty, are Iudgements, and ſo conſequently Magiſtrates vvhich exerciſe them. The exerciſe of Iudgements, and authority of Magiſtrates, is a power from God, appointed vnto man, vvho in this vvorld doe hold the place of him to yeeld and giue right vnto euery one. Therefore Magiſtrates in their Iudgements ought to imitate God, as neere as man through his frailneſſe may. For this cauſe it is vvritten in the firſt of Deuteronomy: Iudge according vnto iuſtice, for euery iudgement proceedeth of God. The firſt ordinance of Magiſtrates vvas made by the moſt excellent and moſt mighty God, as it appeareth in the ſixteenth of Deuteronomy before alledged, vvhere God ſaid vnto *Moyſes*. Thou ſhalt appoint Iudges and Magiſtrates ouer my people in all the gates of the Citty, vvhere it is to

be

To neglect his owne gaine.
To preserue the profite of the Cõmon-weale.
Not to vse any thing of another mans.
To restore vn-to euery one that which is his.
The true office of a Magistrate is,

be vnderstood, that in times past Magistrates had their seats and consistories at the gates of Citties, as the fittest and most open place; the vvhich hath since been reduced into the body of the said Citties. Saint *Ambrose* a most learned Doctour of the Church, in his booke of Offices, sayth, That the Office of euery good and true Magistrate consisteth in four points, the vvhich for more plainenesse vve haue Philosophically drawne forth, as appeareth in the page before.

But a Magistrate cannot be called a true Magistrate, except it be by the right administration of Iustice, vvhich (to make their Citty and Commonweale long to continue and flourish) ought to be distributed into seuen parts, as it may plainely appeare by this ensuing pourtraict, vvherein is contained all the vvhole summe of distributiue Iustice, gathered out of many good Authours, as well Diuines as morall Philosophers.

After vve haue seene the distribution of Iustice, it remaineth that vvee doe regard how many waies the same is corrupted. Magistrates are corrupted by fear: for oftentimes fearing to displease the Prince, or a great Lord, the Magistrate

giſtrate committeth iniuſtice ; as *Pilat* did in condemning Ieſus Chriſt to death, for feare of diſpleaſing the Emperour *Tiberius*. Magiſtrates are alſo corrupted through loue and fauour : as *Herode* the Tetrarch vvas, vvho vvith fooliſh loue to pleaſe a girle vvhich daunced before him, condemned *John Baptiſt* to death, although he knew that he vvas a holy and iuſt man. They are likewiſe corrupted through hate: as vvas the high Prieſt, vvho through hate condemned Saint *Paule* to bee buffetted and beaten, although he had not deſerued it. Moreouer, Magiſtrates are corrupted vvith gold, ſiluer, and other gifts : as the ſonnes of the good Prophet *Samuel* vvere, vvho through gifts corrupted iuſtice. Beſides all this, Magiſtrates are ſometimes corrupted by flattery : as vvas the great King and Monarch of the Eaſt *Aſſuerus*, vvho through the flattery of *Haman* condemned all the Iewes to death, and to be vtterly rooted out. Otherwhiles, Princes are likewiſe corrupted vvith too much compaſsion vvhich they haue of the offenders: as vvas *Saul* the firſt King of the Iewes, vvho through extraordinary compaſsion, ſpared the life of king *Agag* being taken in battaile, vvhom God had commanded him to put to death ſo ſoone as he ſhould be taken, the vvhich he did not. Ma-

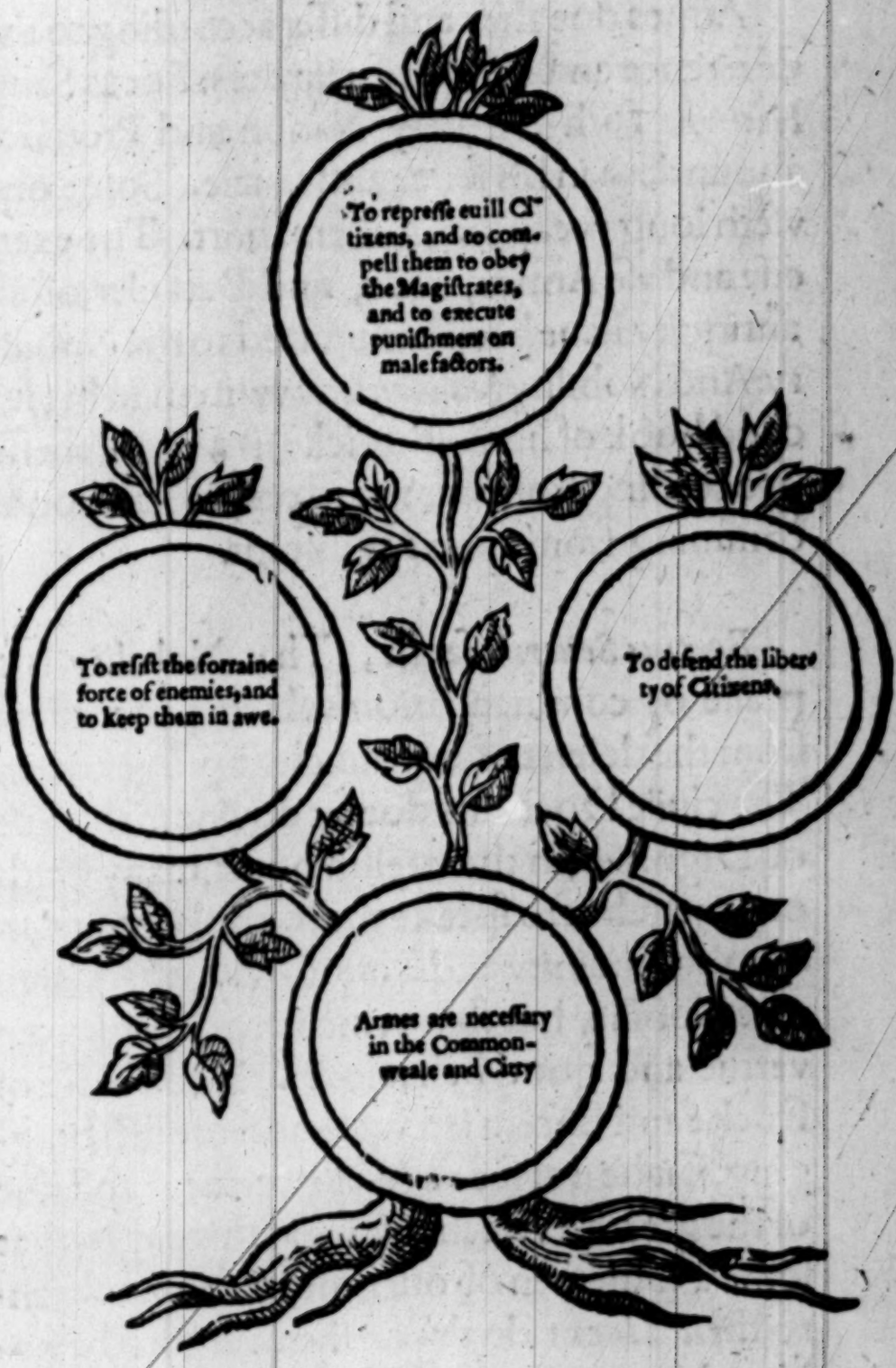
giſtrates doe alſo peruert iudgement through ignorance of diuine and humane Lawes : and it is no maruaile although ignorant Magiſtrats doe oftentimes erre, ſeeing that ignorance is the mother of error. But amongſt al the means of corrupting Magiſtrates, the greateſt and that vvhich is of moſt force, are gifts and preſents. And therefore rightly did the vviſe Poet *Ouid* ſay, That gifts doe appeaſe and bind both gods and men: the vvhich (as concerning men) is apparently manifeſted vnto vs by the vvorthy example of the Patriarke *Jacob*, vvho vvith gifts molified and appeaſed the vvrath of his brother *Eſau*, vvho marched in battel to meet vvith him, being bent vtterly to deſtroy him. If vve doe call to memory Ethnicke examples, *Plutarch* in his Apothegmes, rehearſeth how *Philip* King of Macedon, father of *Alexander* the great, beſieged a ſtrong caſtle ſeated vpon the top of a Mountaine, vnto the vvhich he ſent ſcouts and eſpials to ſee on vvhat ſide the ſaid caſtle might bee moſt pregnable : the ſcouts made anſwere that the Mountaine vvas ſo ſteepe, high, and ſtrong, that it vvas impoſſible to climbe vp vnto it : and beſides, thoſe vvhich kept the ſame, vvere couragious and valiant men. Whereunto the ſaid *Philip* anſwered, That he iudged it nothing impoſsible to

take

take the ſaid caſtle vpon the toppe of that ſtrong and very high Mountaine, if that an Aſſe laden vvith gold, might aſcend vp to the top therof: Hereby giuing to vnderſtand, that there is nothing ſo vvell fortified, or ſo ſtrong, vvhich may not bee woon by gold. The Poets (vvho vnder their fictions, haue ſhadowed apparent verities) did faine, That *Iupiter* being amarous of the faire *Danae*, could neuer attain vnto his purpoſe, vntill he had turned himſelfe into a ſhower of gold. Wherefore *Horace* ſaid, That although yron doe tame gold and ſiluer, yea and all other mettals beſides, yet neuertheleſſe gold abateth the edge of yron, and paſſeth through the middeſt of moſt ſtrong and armed ſouldiours. Moreouer, it is no maruell if amongſt thoſe vvhich liue in euery commonweale, and in all citties, that Magiſtrats are neceſſary, eſpecially ſince the Poets doe faine, that in hell amongſt the ſhadowes of the dead and deceaſſed, there be Magiſtrates; to wit, *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Eacus*, vvho do there exerciſe their iudgements.

The

THe third needful thing in euery good Commonweale and City are Armes, and Nobility vvhich haue the managing thereof. Armes, as *Varro* saith, are all warlike instruments, as vvell to assaile our enemies, as to defend vs from the assaults & enterprises of them. Wherunto the Ciuilian *Caius* agreeth. In euery vvell ordered citty and commonweale, Armes and Weapons are necessary, as *Aristotle* saith in his seuenth booke of Politickes, and *Plutarke* in his most eloquent booke of ciuile Constitution.


To represse euill Citizens, and to compell them to obey the Magistrates, and to execute punishment on malefactors.
To resist the forraine force of enemies, and to keep them in awe.
To defend the liberty of Citizens.
Armes are necessary in the Common-weale and City

Armes doe alter and differ according to the difference and nature of climates: For as Saint *Hierome* saith, Euery Nation and Prouince aboundeth in his sence and fancie. Some one vseth long vveapons, others short. The exercise and vse Armes, War, and Battailes, of all antiquity haue been committed to the Nobility. And Nobility (as *Aristotle* vvriteth in his second book of his Rethoricke) is a vvorthinesse proceeding from our ancestors, and an honor comming from auncient discent.

Boetius Seuerin sayth, That Nobility is a praise or commendation vvhich proceedeth from the deserts of our auncient progenitors. The ciuile Doctours doe set downe in the title of Dignities, in the twelfth book, many kinds of gentry: but to speake the truth, both according to Diuinity and Philosophy, there is no true Nobility but that vvhich proceedeth from vertue and good behauiour. Nobleneſſe of stocke and discent is a vaine and foolish bragging, if it be not seconded by vertue: and one of the greatest vvhich vve see at this day is, that some Noblemen of our time trusting only vnto their discent, do thinke themselues to be noble vvithout vertue. As such kind of fond and

fai-

fained Nobility vvithout vertue, doth *Lucius* the Greeke Oratour rightly ſcoffe in many of his moſt eloquent Dialogues : of Latine Poets, *Horace* in many of his ſpeeches and Epiſtles, *Iuuenall* in his Satires, *Claudian* in his Panegirickes. But before all theſe abouesaid, the Prophet *Malachie* vvriteth againſt ſuch fooliſh Nobility vvithout vertue, in theſe vvords: Is not one god the father of all? as if (according to the ſaying of the Stoicke Philoſopher *Seneca*) Nobility comming from our anceſtours, the honor thereof appertaineth rather vnto them, then vnto vs. *Saluſt* vvriting againſt *Cicero*, vpbraideth the ſaid *Cicero*, for that he was deſcended of the Arpinates, people of the baſeſt and loweſt condition; and that he vvas extracted of a noble and auncient ſtocke: vnto vvhom *Cicero* anſwered no leſſe learnedly then eloquently, That it vvas true, that *Saluſt* vvas deſcended of noble race, but he vvas the firſt vvhich had debaſed the Nobility of his houſe, and that the nobility of his anceſtors ended in him, through his vices and leudneſſe : and as for himſelfe, he confeſſed that he vvas extracted from the Arpinates people of obſcure condition, but yet he vvas the firſt Gentleman of his ſtocke, and *Saluſt* the laſt of his. But to the end that men

through pride or vaine boasting of the Nobility of their stock, should not esteeme of themselues more then other men. When God appointed the first Kings, he chose them out of poore and meane houses, as it appeareth by *Saule* the first King of the Iews, vvho vvas chosen King in keeping and driuing his fathers Asses: *Dauid* vvas likewise chosen King, being a Shepheard, and the least of all his brethren. In the Law of grace Christ our Sauiour did chuse for Pastours and Prelates of his Church, *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, & other Apostles vvhich vvere simple mechanicall men, and poore Fishers. Moreouer, euen as the Thorne and Rose doe spring from one Root, in like sort doe Noblemen and Clownes come of one and the same mould. And forasmuch as the Thorne is sharpe and pricketh, it is reiected, and contrariwise the Rose is held in the hand for the good sent and sweetnesse thereof: Likewise, he vvhich by vices maketh himselfe a villaine, ought to be reiected as a pricking Thorne, and he vvhich by cõmendable vertues maketh himselfe oderiferous and sweet, ought to bee esteemed and prised as the Rose, and accounted noble, from vvhat race soeuer he be descended. *Esau* and *Iacob* vvere brethren, and of one womb, and yet

one

one of them vvas noble by vertue, and the other ignoble through vice. The like vvas in *Titus* and *Domitian*, brethren, and ſonnes of the Romane Emperor *Veſpaſian*: For *Titus* was by the Senat named the Delight of the vvorld; and *Domitian* through his execrable Tyrannies, vvas named the Monſter of human kind. The ſtocke and linage maketh not a man noble or ignoble, but vſe, education, inſtruction, and bringing vp, maketh him ſo: for when a man from infancie is inſtructed in good manners, all the reſt of his life hee ſhall bee inclined vnto acts of Nobility and Vertue. And on the contrary, if he be euilly inſtructed in his yong yeares, he vvill haue as long as hee liueth ſuch manners as are barbarous, ſtrange, and full of all villany.

Vpon this matter *Plutarch* ſaith, That *Lycurgus* the Lacedemonian Lawgiuer, deſiring to reduce his Citizens vnto ciuility, & to induce them to bee carefull to inſtruct their children from their infancy, in good & laudable manners: to ſhew them a plain demonſtration thereof, he took from the dam two yong greyhound vvhelpes, the one vvhereof he cauſed to bee exerciſed in hunting (according to his naturall inclination) and the other in the

Kitchen. After they vvere great and throughly growne, he brought them vnto a place in the Citty before the Cittizens, and let goe a liue Hare vvhich he had in his ſleeue, he had alſo brought a pot full of fleſh and pottage. The greyhound vvhich vvas vſed to hunting, followed and ranne after the Hare, the other vvhich had been brought vp in the Kitchen, vvent to licke the pot, and ſmell the ſauour of the fleſh, hauing no deſire to follow after the hare as his fellow did. Then *Lycurgus* ſaid, Behold Cittizens how much good education and inſtruction in our infancy profitteth: Theſe two greyhounds came both of one damme, and you ſee that the one as being noble, hath left pot, fleſh, and pottage, to follow the Hare, ſhewing the courage vvherein he is exerciſed; and the other degenerating from his nature and kind hath left the Hare for the ſauour of the pot, according to his bringing vp, euen ſo vvill your children doe: For if in their youth they bee vvell inſtructed and taught, they vvill ſhew themſelues noble, and of good behauiour; and on the contrary, if they be vvickedly trained vp, they vvill alwaies be villaines leaud and vicious. But concluding this matter, Nobility and Magiſtrates in euery Common-weale,

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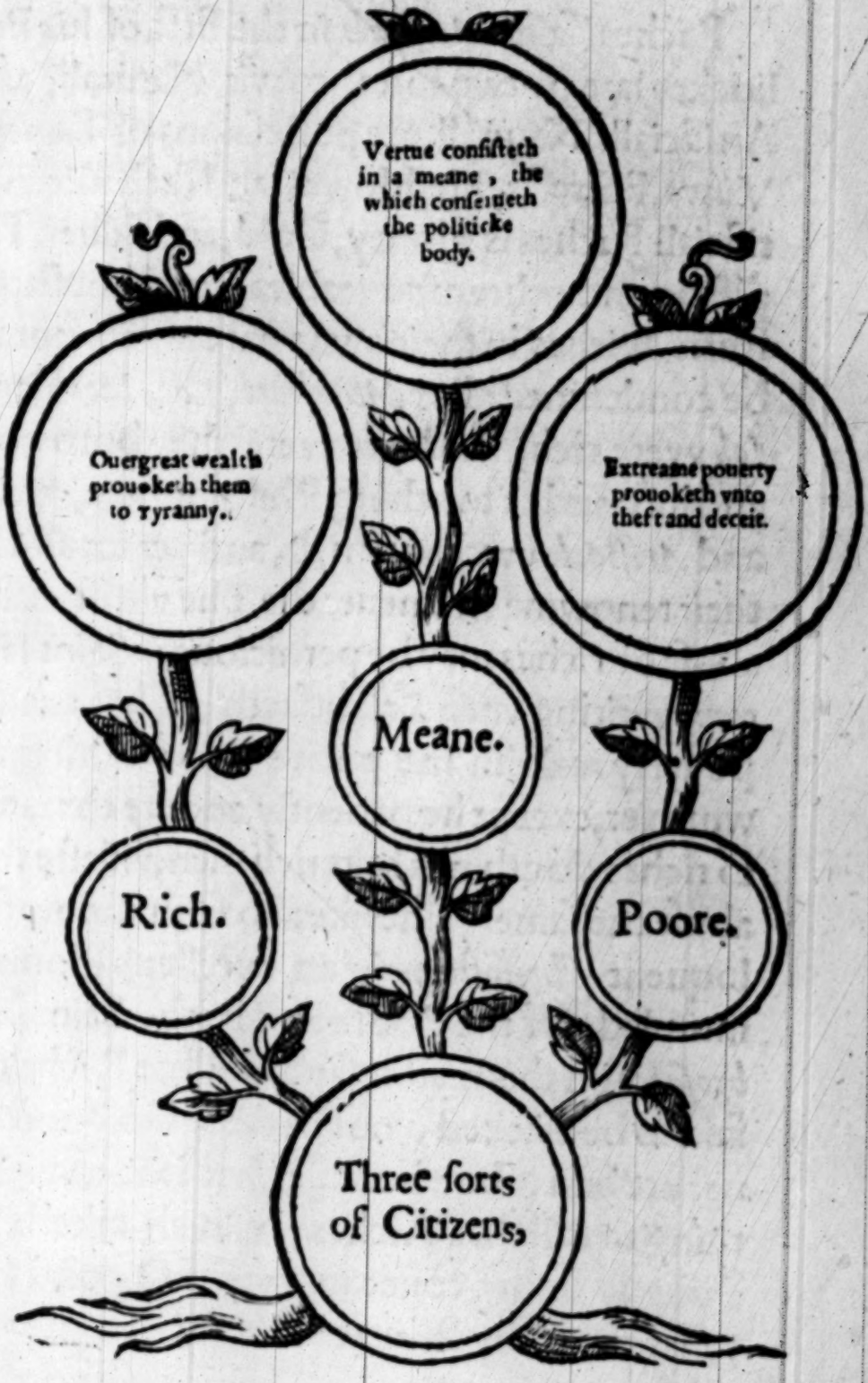
muſt bee carefull that the children of the Citty may bee as vvell perticulerly as generally vvell taught and inſtructed both in manners and in Learning, and that by good and diſcreet Maiſters, no leſſe honeſt then learned, if they vvill preſerue the Nobility of their aunceſtors vnto all poſterities.

THe fourth neceſſary thing in euery Commonweale, are Riches, and conſequently citizens, vvhich are vſually the poſſeſſours thereof. And that is becauſe they are aunciently grounded in the Citty, hauing rents, reuenues, and poſſeſsions. Wherefore there is great reaſon vvhy they ſhould be called the props and pillers of the City, and foundations of the Commonweale. That Riches are neceſſary in the City, it appeareth by the ſaying of *Cicero*, vvho deemeth that they are the ſinewes of Warre. For euen as by the ſinewes euery humane body hath ſeeling and motion, (as the Phiſitions and Anathomiſts doe affirme) in like ſort in the body politicke, by the ſinowes thereof, to vvit,

vvit, Money, and Riches, it hath feeling and motion to assemble Souldiours to defend the liberty thereof: the vvhich could not be done otherwise, and especially in these daies, wherein he vvhich hath Gold and Siluer ynough, shall find more Souldiours then he vvillingly vvould. Then so it is, that in extremity and necessity of warre, the principall Citizens (as being most able and best grounded) ought to make the cheefest preparation to defend their Cittie and the liberty thereof.

Aristotle in his fourth booke of Politickes, sets downe


Vertue consisteth in a meane, the which conserueth the politicke body.
Ouergreat wealth prouoketh them to tyranny.
Extreame pouerty prouoketh vnto theft and deceit.
Meane.
Rich.
Poore.
Three sorts of Citizens,

Riches (ſaith *Ariſtotle* in the firſt of his Politickes) are of two ſorts, to wit, Naturall, and Artificiall. Naturall, are poſſeſsions of Lands, Vines, Forreſts, Meddowes, and ſuch like. Artificiall Riches is Money, Gold, and Siluer, Tapiſtrie, and other mooueables, and houſhold ſtuffe. Riches in their owne nature, are not to be condemned: For *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Iacob*, and *Iob* vvere rich, and yet vvere they both holy and iuſt: and as touching Philoſophers, *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* vvere very rich, and yet for all that their renowme ſhal neuer die. The vſe or rather abuſe of riches may be pernicious: Saint *Hierome* vvriting vnto *Saluia* ſayth, That euen as pouerty maketh the poore man nothing the worthier, except he patiently endure the ſame, ſo riches dooth not hurt rich men, vnleſſe they abuſe the ſame. The like alſo ſaith the moſt eloquent *Chriſoſtome* in an excellent Homely, intituled, Of the Poore and Rich. Saint *Ambroſe* vpon this matter ſayth, That Riches are ſaid to be vvicked, not becauſe Gold and Siluer are bad, but becauſe that it is a vvicked thing to call that Riches, vvhich taketh not Pouerty from a couetous man. O good God vvhat a vvorthy ſentence is this, vvorthy (as *Iob* ſaith) to be grauen vvith an yron penne in Lead or Stone. Hereypon Saint *Bernard* (a

man

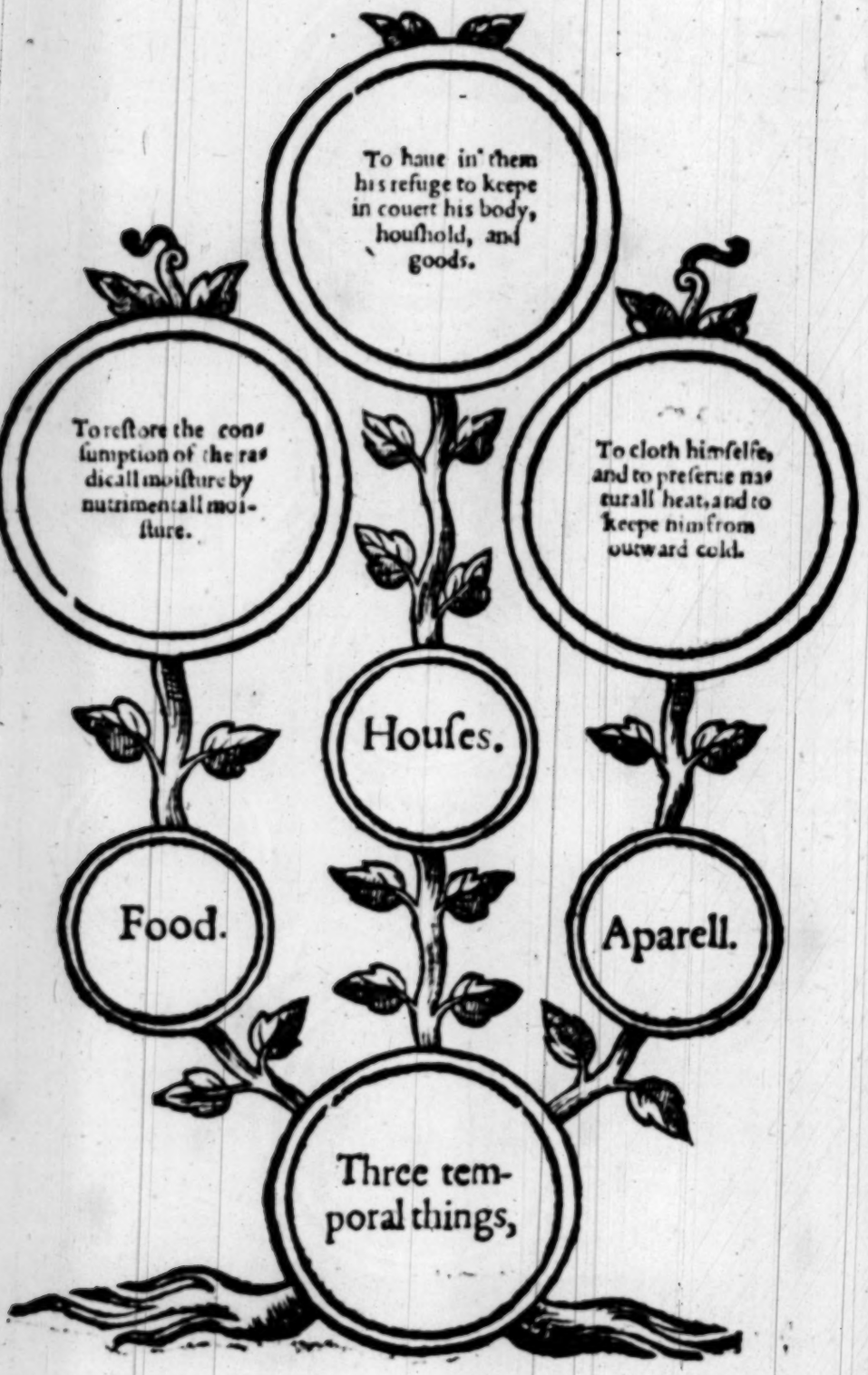
man of great contemplation, ſaith, That Gold and Siluer, as touching the Soule, is neither good nor bad; & that the vſe of them is good, but their abuſe is pernicious. Moreouer, Saint *Gregory* ſayth in his morall Commentaries vpon *Iob*, That vve may truly call thoſe Riches, vvhich doe enrich vs vvith Vertue, and none els. *Palladius* a Greeke Authour, in a moſt learned Epigram ſaith, That Gold is the ſonne of ſorrow and care, and that he vvhich hath it not, liueth in great miſery; and he vvhich hath it, keepeth and poſſeſſeth it in great feare and care. *Virgil* in the third of his *Æneidos* tearmeth Gold an holy hunger. *Ouid* in the firſt of his Metamorphoſis, called Gold and Riches the roots of all miſcheefe. *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Horace*, *Iuuenall*, and all the Poeticall troupe doe blame Gold, as the ſpring and fountaine of all euill. For this cauſe the Cittizens and vvealthieſt of the Citty, ought not for all their great riches, deſpiſe the poore and inferiour citizens, as labourers and mechanicall men, as *Demoſthenes* the Prince of Grecian eloquence, hath expreſſed in his oration for *Cteſiphontus*. In this ſence when a man diſdaineth the pouertie of another, he is quite void of wit, for euery mã vvhich thinketh himſelfe aſſured of fortune, is like vnto him that banquetteth and maketh

great cheare in a houſe, which cannot laſt vntil the euening, or next morning.

Finally, *Iſocrates* the excellent Grecian orator, writing to *Demonicus*, ſaith, That a wiſe mã neuer ought to diſdaine nor caſt another in the teeth with his hard fortune, for asmuch hangeth ouer his owne head. *Cicero* likewiſe forbiddeth to flout a man ordained to calamity, vvhich is a good leſſon for all poſſeſſors of riches.

THe fifth neceſſarie thing in euery Cõmonweale and City are the handicraftsmen, and ſo conſequently Artificers. Art is an vſe to vvork by true reaſon, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith in the ſixt of his Ethickes: or els art is the knowledge of a certain thing gotten by practiſe, erudition, or reaſon, tending to the neceſſary vſes of mans life; after the definition of *Diomedes*. Of arts, ſome conſiſt in ſpeculation, others in action. Speculation is that which we call Theoricke, that is to ſay, Speculatiue. Action we call practicke, which is as much to ſay as actiue. Of art, is Artificer deriued: and forasmuch as next vnto God, Nature is a thing moſt

moſt perfect; the neerer that any workmanſhip approcheth vnto Nature, the better and perfecter it is, as it appeareth in images and ſtatues. For the more liuely and naturally a painted & artificial face is, the more perfect & better it is: And that is, becauſe art is no other thing than the imitation of Nature. Arts are diuided into liberall and mechanicall: To intreat of liberall arts, it is not our intent at this time; for the worthineſſe of them requireth and deſerueth greater ſearching out. Our preſent queſtion is of mechanicall arts: becauſe that arts and handicrafts are needfull for politicke perfection, and for the preſeruation thereof. Beſides, for the better and plainer demonſtration of this preſent matter, it is to be ſuppoſed, that becauſe there cannot be found any man of ſo great induſtry, skill, or wiſedome, which can of himſelfe without the helpe of another, liue from ſociety, & is able to adminiſter vnto himſelfe all things that are neceſſary for him: therefore the ſociety of many was inuented, to the end, that by giuing, taking, changing, and imparting from one vnto another, one might helpe another with that which he ſhould ſtand in need of. This being ſuppoſed, continuing our Philoſophicall and plain demonſtration, I ſay that euery man hath neceſſarily need of


To haue in them his refuge to keepe in couert his body, houſhold, and goods.
To reſtore the conſumption of the radicall moiſture by nutrimentall moiſture.
To cloth himſelfe, and to preſerue naturall heat, and to keepe him from outward cold.
Houſes.
Food.
Aparell.
Three temporal things,

As for the first, vvhich is Food, a man cannot in any sort liue vvithout it, the vvhich he hath in common with the brute beasts, who are as ill able as man to liue without food and sustenance. For naturall heat doth continually consume our radical moisture, as the light consumeth the oyle of the Lampe. It is necessary then to shunne death, which is the whole consumption of radicall moisture; that vve doe in steed thereof make a supplie of nutrimentall moisture, as Bread, Drinke, Meat, and other Sustenance, as all the whole of the cheefe and excellent Phisitions, as well of the Grecians & Arabians, as the Latines do affirme. The Husbandmen, Butchers, Fishers, Victuallers, Bakers, Vinteners, Cookes, and all other mechanicall men doe prouide and dresse food for the Commonweale, seruing and purueying the Communaltie vvith victuals.

The second needfull thing for man is Houses, perticular to euery one: and in generall, the Wals & Fortresses of the city. A House, as *Aristotle* saith in the first of his Politickes, is a daily societie: and to speake more properly, a House is a building made to dwell in safely apart by ones selfe, as well to defend himselfe, his family, and goods, as to resist the vvrongs, as well of wicked men, as of the time: [Such as excesiue

heats

heats are vnder the influence of the dog ſtarre, vvhen as *Horace* ſaith, The heauenly Lion is in his greateſt fury : or to vvithſtand the wind, raine, haile, and cold, vvhen Aquarius (as the ſaid Poet vvriteth) troubleth and altereth the time. Furthermore, the Ciuilians haue vvritten, That a Houſe is a ſure refuge for euery one. Some doe build and ſet vp Houſes and other buildings, by the Art of Architecture, the which is done by Maſons, Carpenters, Geometricians, Lockeſmiths, Ioiners, and others vſing caruing. The Citie likewiſe, as well for ornament, as for defence, hath need of Wals, Caſtles, Bulwarkes, Ramparts, and other Fortreſſes, the vvhich cannot be made vvithout Architecture and Maſonrie.

The third needfull thing for man, is Aparrell to cloth and couer himſelfe, as vvell vvhen he vvaketh, as vvhen he ſleepeth; and preſerue his naturall heat from outward cold. Vnder this vvord Raiment, all Apparell, as well of Silke, Wool, Linnen, Cotton, as of other ſtuffe, is contained. The Merchaunts, Mercers, Drapors, Tailors, Hoſiers, and ſuch like, as Brokers and others, doe furniſh ſtuffe for apparel. Beſides the vvhich things, man dooth alſo need (to preſerue his health, or to recouer it, if he haue loſt it) Phiſitions, Chirurgions, Apothecaries,

caries, and other remedies: although that (as *Plato* saith, and *Pluturke* in his Treatise of the preseruation of health) the cheefe Phisicke to maintaine long health, is to keepe a good diet and rule in eating and drinking: for those vvhich neither feede nor drinke excelsiuely, shall not bee often sicke. Man likewise to defend his liberty, (the vvhich is of more worth then anie richesse) bodie, goods, and family, hath need of vveapons and armour, as vvell offensiue as defensiue: The vvhich Armourers, Fourbushers, Cutlers, and such like doe furnish. Man also needeth Horses, the vvhich must bee bridled, sadled, shod, and barbed in time of Warre: vvhich things Sadlers, Spurriers, Farriers, and such like doe furnish the Cittie vvithall. Wherefore it appeareth, that vvithout handicrafts and craftsmen, no good Common-weale nor cittie can either assemble, or bee assembled, as *Aristotle* concludeth in diuerse places of his Politickes. Moreouer, Magistrates ought to haue great care that Artificers bee not idle through lasinesse, or by negligence cease from their labour, and much lesse also to vse any fraud in their vvorkes. And therein to follow the example of the Indian Philosophers, the Gymnosophists,

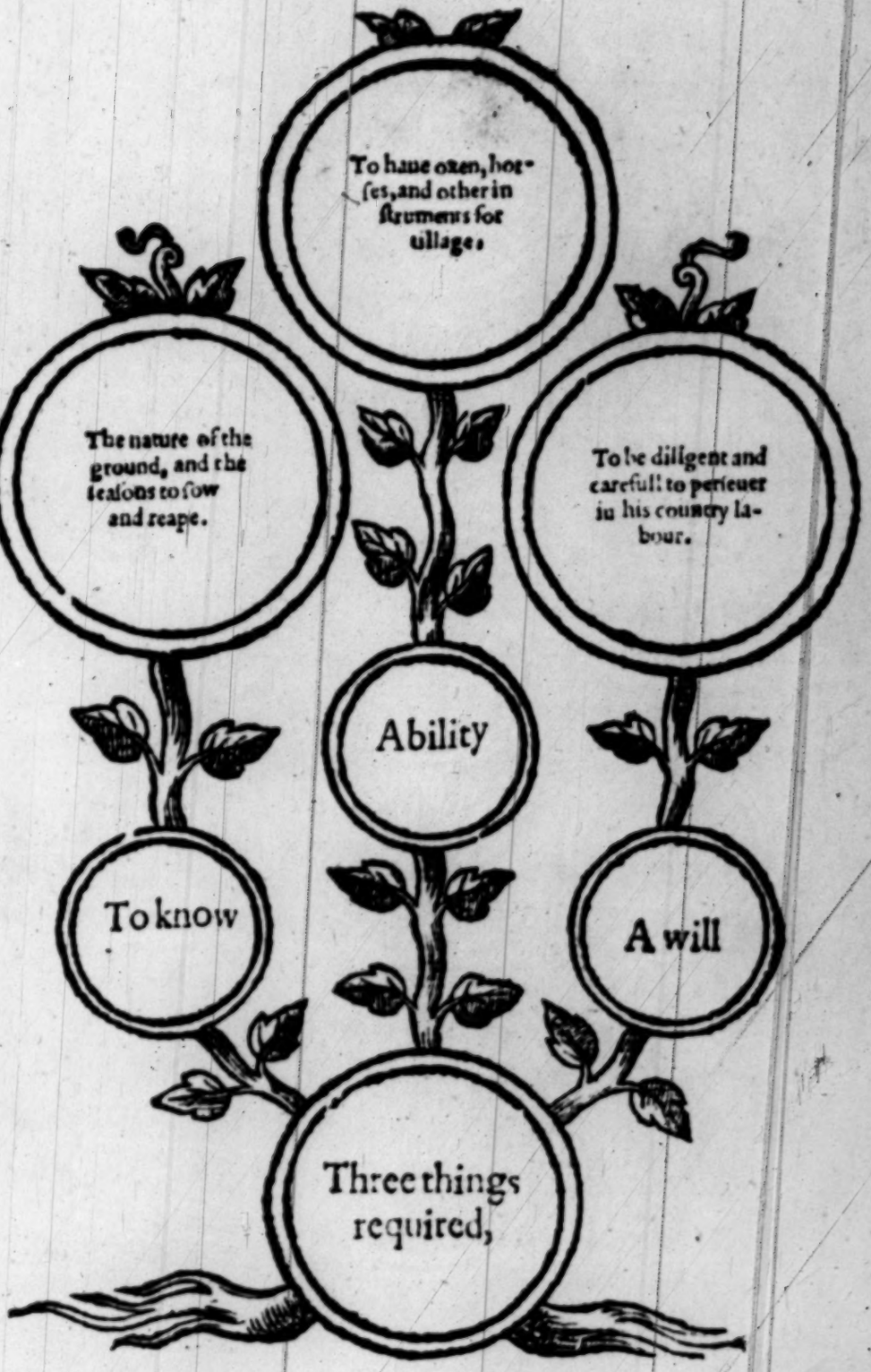
who do punish the vice of sluggishnesse, more then any other. For they were accustomed at the houre of dinner, not to giue any meat to their children, or seruants, vnlesse they perceiued that they had deserued to be fed by their trauaile or industrie. Amongst them the which was found, and of age to worke, and did not worke, did not eat; the which did necessarily constraine them to labour. The Ants, little Bees, and silly small beasts, (if we will learne by them) doe shew a manifest and plaine example, labouring in the summer to nourish thē in winter: teaching vs that we ought to take paines in the summer of youth to maintaine vs in the winter of age. *Draco* the famous Lawmaker, whose Lawes were so seuere, that it was said, they were rather writtē with blood then inke, condemned those to death which would not labour. Would to God that now in our Commonweale, there were such, or the like Law, as was amongst the Ægyptians; wherein there was no inhabitant, whose name was not registred in the Magistrates booke, to know whereof he liued, and how he was able to maintaine, as well himselfe, as his familie. The said inhabitants were many times in

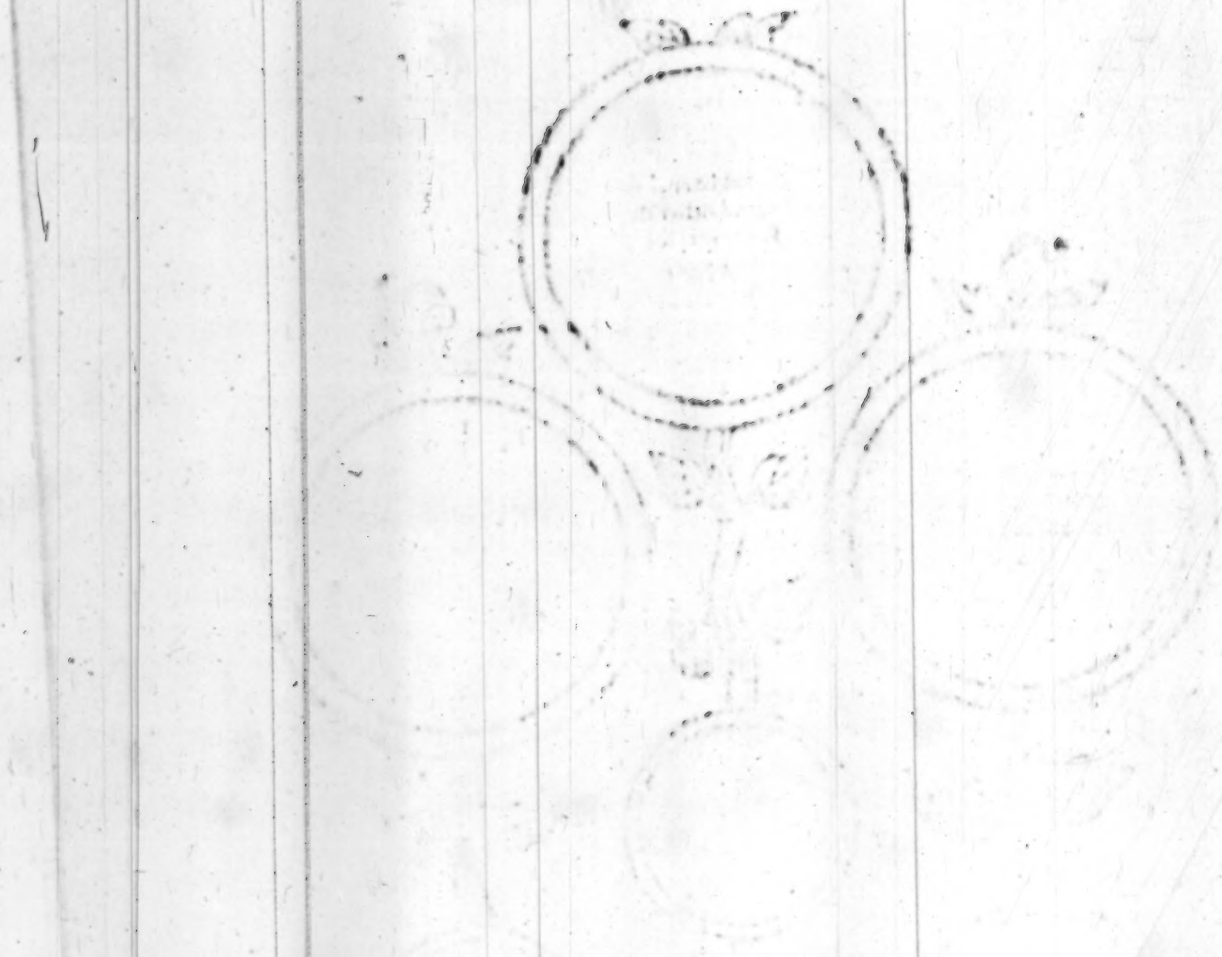
the

the yeare examined vvhat they gained and receiued, to ſee if their getting and ſpending vvere alike: And then the Magiſtrate might eaſily iudge if any of the inhabitants did liue by their induſtrie and trade, or els by theft; and the vagabonds (vvho are cõmonly the plague of the Cittie) eaſily knowne, and ſo conſequently driuen and baniſhed out of the Commonweale.

THe ſixt and laſt neceſſary thing in euery Common-vveale is Food, & ſo conſequently Husbandmen; vvho although they be of leſſe reputation then the reſt of the Citties, yet are they as much profitable: For the belly can endure no delay, and as the old Prouerbe ſaith, The belly hath no eares. The bodily ſuſtenance of the Citty commeth from the labour of the Husbandmen: The dutie of the vvhich is to liue in their ſimplicitie, and not to meddle with anie weightie matters, but to doe their endeuor in tilling the ground. This country life hath ben ſo much commended & eſteemed in times paſt, as many good Authors both Grecians and Latines haue left vvorthie books thereof vnto the poſteritie.

In euerie Countriman that will be called a good Husbandman, are


To haue oxen, horses, and other instruments for tillage.
The nature of the ground, and the seasons to sow and reape.
To be diligent and carefull to persuer in his country labour.
Ability
To know
A will
Three things required,



Tillage consisteth in four kinds of ground, *viz.* in fields, vnderwoods, forrests, and vvillow plots: in orchards, vines, oliue, and other fruitfull trees: in pasturage, as meddowes: in gardens of pleasure, vvhere roses, lillies, violets and such sweet flowers grow: in kitchen gardens, vvherein there are coleworts, beets, and other hearbs. Husbandry and Tillage is commendable, forasmuch as it bringeth vnto the Husbandman commodity vvith delight, and profite vvith pleasure. The commodity and profite is manifest: For a good Country housholder is at all times prouided vvith bread, drinke, flesh, egs, milke, butter, cheese, fruit, vvood, faggots, bauins, and all without buying or laying mony out of his purse, as very excellently *Cicero* saith in his booke of old age. The pleasure is inestimable to the man that knoweth, and vvill behold the vvorkes of Nature. Moreouer, a Cherry or an Apple gathered vvith thy hand from a Chery tree or Appletree of thine owne planting, vvill be more pleasing vnto thee, and better content thee, then one hundred bought in their steed. For the Country pleasure is not knowne, but to the fauourers of *Minerua*, that is, to men of contemplation. For Ciuilians and Lawyers do nothing

regard

regard the Country pleasure: and that vvhich all diuine and humane Philosophers doe account the cheefest benefite in this vvorld, that is, the quietnesse of mind, the vvhich is sooner found in the Country, then in the City; the sauourers of the Law doe esteeme to be vice, applying all their vvit and endeuour to trouble the common peace by sutes, vvithout the vvhich most part of them vvould die vvith hunger. And because they haue no other trade to sustaine their liues, they doe daily procure the Citizens and inhabitants vnto discord and dissention, vvhich is one of the horribleſt plagues that can be in the Commonvveale. Moreouer, euery man of sound iudgement dooth know, That in the country the commodity of the foure elements is found to be greater then in cities and townes. As for fire, a man may vvarme himselfe better in the country, by reason of the commodity of vvoods and forrests, for the aire is more cleare & more wholesome there then in citties, for the Sunne which (as *Aristotle* and *Pliny* do affirme) is the soueraigne purifier, spreadeth his beames from the East vnto the West vvithout any hinderance at all either of houses or buildings vvherewith cities are pestered, so as hee vvhich vvill there haue

haue the Sunne to ſhine in his houſe, muſt ſtay for the circuler perambulation thereof. And there are manie houſes in Citties to be ſeene, that are ſo peſtered and choked vp one vvith the other, that the Sunne doth ſildome or neuer ſhine on them. The vvinds alſo, ſpecially the Northerne, can neuer blow ſo freely there, as in the Country, becauſe that the neereneſſe of the houſes and buildings doe hinder it: ſo that by all reaſon the aire can neuer be ſo ſweet and pleaſing as in the country. If it vvere as familiar vvith vs, as the Southwind is, our climate vvould be farre more vvholeſome. The Southerne vvind, as concerning the operations that it effecteth vvith vs, is vvhote and moiſt, and ſo conſequently corruptible, and the father of putrifaction, as *Plinie* ſaith in the ſecond of his naturall Hiſtory. This bad and vnwholeſome Southerne vvind vvas by *Virgil* and *Ouid* called rainie, by *Boetius* troubleſome, by *Horace* leaden, becauſe that when it bloweth, it maketh the body heauie and bourdenous. Saint *Hierom* calleth it the butler or pourer forth of vvater, becauſe it commonly bringeth raine. In the country likewiſe at ſuch time as the dog ſtarre by the furie of his heat and drought vveakeneth our bodies, and maketh our ſpirits heauy, when the Sunne is lodged with the Lion, we

find more cooleneſſe there then we doe in cities and townes. As for vvater, the Fountaines, Riuers, and Brookes of the Country doe refreſh and delight vs as much or more then any other thing. And concerning the earth, the fruitfulneſſe thereof, yea all the ſecrets of Nature are plainely ſhewed vnto vs in the coũtry, vvhich are hidden from vs vvhen vve remain in Cities. Laſtly (as *Cicero* ſaith in his Offices, and in his booke of Old age) there vvas neuer any man of good capacity vvhich hath not preferred (as vvell for the health of body, as for the recreation and quietneſſe of mind) the country before the city, and the Husbandry labour before the Citie life: for vvhich cauſe many Romane Emperors haue in times paſt forſaken and left their Pallaces, Capitols, Triumphant Arches, Theatres, Amphitheaters, Baths, Colloſſes, Pyramides, and all other gorgeous and magnificent buildings, to withdraw themſelues into the country, there vvith their owne hands to plant Trees, Orchards, and Gardens: as vve read of *Dioclesian* the Emperour, and others, rehearſed by *Valerius*.

Of

Of Aliens, Strangers, and Pilgrimes, *and how they ought to bee vsed in euery* good Commonweale.

HAuing finiſhed and ended the harmony of the politicke bodie, by ſix ſorts of Citizens, thereunto neceſſarily requiſite: it reſteth now, that I doe perticularly diſcourſe of Strangers, Aliens, and Pilgrimes, vvho although they bee none of the bodie of the Commonweale and Cittie, yet are they abiding therein for a ſeaſon. Strangers ought to be receaued courteouſly, ſo that they come into the Cittie vpon ſome honeſt cauſe, and that they bring profite. The conference and conuerſing vvith Strangers and Aliens is oftentimes very profitable for the Commonweale for the trafficke of Merchaundiſe. And in as much as Nature vvould not diſtribute all her benefites vnto one place alone, but part and deuide them, giuing vnto one climate

that vvhich vvanteth in another, recompenſing the barrennes of one thing vvith the fruitfulneſſe of another: the frequentation & haunt of Strangers is very often neceſſary in euery Commonweale. The Indians (as *Virgil* in his Georgiques ſaith) doe ſend vnto vs Iuory, the Sabians Incenſe, the Calibes Iron and Steele, and ſo in like ſort from diuerſe countries, ſundry things are ſent. In our daies from Calicuth, (a Land newly found out vnder the Antartick Pole) Braſil, Ebany, and Guiacum is brought vnto vs. The Engliſhmen doe ſend vnto other countries their cloths, and in ſtead therof they bring home Wines and other commodities, vvhereof they are depriued by the rigour of their climate, vvhich is too cold. Notwithſtanding, it is not good nor fit to admit Strangers vnto ſecret counſell amongſt the Cittizens, eſpecially in matters of vvar, for very great inconuenience might enſue thereof, nor yet to ſuffer any great multitude of Straungers in the citie. It vvas the deſtruction of the Troians, vvho admitted the Achaians into their citie: and of the Bizantines. We read in Exodus, That the Iſraelites robbed the Ægyptians of their Gold and Siluer, amongſt vvhome they had liued the ſpace of foure hundred yeares. The Athenians eſtabliſhed a law, wherein they

inhibited al ſtrangers from dancing or leaping in the common theatre, vnder paine of a thouſand drams of Siluer. For they could not think Strangers vvorthy of that benefit that vvas reſerued only to their home borne Cittizens: as *Plutarch* maketh mention in the life of *Phocion*. It hath beva queſtion vvhether Strangers may not at all bee admitted to ſome Office in the Commonweale. Some doe maintaine that ſuch Magiſtrates as haue the mother Empire (that is to ſay, that are incluſiuely to giue ſentence of death) ought to be ſtrangers, for in caſe a cittizen iudge giue ſentence of death againſt a cittizen, it breedeth more ſpight and enuy then if a ſtranger had done it. Moreouer, it is to bee preſumed that a citizen iudge, or Magiſtrate, wil ſhew more fauour to a guilty citizen, wherby the tranſgreſsion of cittizens ſhall for the moſt part eſcape vvithout puniſhment, and ſo might be the cauſe of the ouerthrow of the city or commonweale: and in this regard, euen to this day many citties and communalties of Italy do chuſe into ſuch offices of Magiſtracie, ſtrangers and forreiners. Others of the contrary opinion do alledge, that in ſuch honors offices and dignities of a cittie, the originarie cittizens are to be preferred before ſtrangers: and ſo do we find it alwaies to haue been obſerued

in moſt of the Grecian commonweales, namely, among the Lacedemonians and Athenians, and likewiſe among the Romans and Carthaginians. Neither do the Venetians euen to this day admit ſtrangers to any dignity in their cõmonweale, as we may ſee in their hiſtories written by the learned and eloquent *Antony Sabellicus*, and *Gaſpar Contarene*, yet notwithſtanding, they execute both good and ſeuere iuſtice. So then it is reſolued (though at this day it be permitted in ſome cities in Italie) yet vvith the auncient Romanes, Grecians, Lacedemonians, Carthaginians, and Athenians, vve will conclude, that they ought to be excluded from all offices: and herewith I will end this Diſcourſe.

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